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John Oswald Mitchell

Glasgow

From Robert Ramsey March 1889

John Oswald Mitchell

Glasgow

From Robert Ramsey March 1889

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LIVES OF THE SCOTTISH SAINTS



PINKERTON'S
Lives of the Scottish Saints

REVISED AND ENLARGED

BY

W. M. METCALFE

In Two Volumes

VOL. I.

PAISLEY:
ALEXANDER GARDNER
Publisher to Her Majesty the Queen

MDCCCLXXXIX.

*The Impression of this Edition consists of Sixty Copies,
of which this is No. 5*

Ch. L. F. ...

PREFACE.

PINKERTON'S intention in connection with this work, which has long been out of print and exceedingly scarce, seems to have been to issue in a handy form the ancient Lives of the most celebrated of the Scottish Saints. The intention was good, and deserves to be extended to the Lives of the less known among those who were once honoured in the national Church.

Some of the Lives Pinkerton selected have since been printed from better texts and edited with greater skill ; but as no attempt has been made to reproduce the whole collection, some of them, as, for instance, Cumman's Life of St. Columba, Turgot's Life of St. Margaret, with the Introduction, Notes, and Appendices of Papebroch, and the Life of St. Magnus, are still accessible only in rare or expensive works.

In the present edition, the texts have been collated and many corrections made ; the deficiencies at the beginning of the Life of St. Ninian and of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba have been supplied ; and for Pinkerton's text of the Life of St. Kentigern, that of the MS. in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, which is in every respect better, has been substituted.

The additions to the original contents of the work are :— The Office of St. Machar, based upon an old Latin Life which is now lost ; the fragment of a Life of St. Kentigern, first printed by Professor Cosmo Innes in his *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, and subsequently, by Dr. A. P. Forbes ; the Life of St. Serf, from the same MS. as the Life of St. Kentigern, first published by Dr. Skene in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* ; the Legend respecting the bringing of the Relics of St. Andrew to Scotland, from the Aberdeen Breviary ; and the Offices for the Saints

whose lives are given. The only exception to this is in the case of St. Margaret. Her Office is taken for the most part from that for Holy Women, and the Readings peculiar to it have not been considered of sufficient importance to be reproduced here. The principal Readings in the Office for the Festival of her Translation will be found in Papebroch's second Appendix to her Life.

Additions also are the Introduction and the majority of the Notes. In the first some account is given, where possible, of the Authors of the Lives, the sources whence they derived their information, and of their other writings, and in the case of several of the Saints the leading events in their lives are narrated. The Notes have been gathered from many sources, and refer in the majority of instances to persons and places. It is hardly necessary to remark that neither the Introduction nor the Notes profess to be exhaustive.

Pinkerton's Preface and a few of his Notes, which will be readily distinguished, have been retained. The rest of the original Notes and an Appendix containing a list of the Editors of the different volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*, have been omitted.

The alterations made on the Original Edition, as all who are acquainted with it will readily believe, have involved a very great amount of labour, which the Editor has been compelled to carry on amid the distractions of a busy life. It is hoped, however, that they are such as to entitle the present Edition to be regarded as a decided improvement upon its predecessor.

The thanks of the Editor are due to Mr. George Parker, Oxford, for collating the text of the Life of St. Ninian, and to Mr. W. Etienne Phelps, Dublin, for performing the same office for that of the Lives of St. Kentigern and St. Serf; but especially to Dr. Reeves, for the generous permission to use his readings of the codices Regius and Cottonianus of Adamnan, and for allowing him to make use of the information contained in his remarkably erudite and, indeed, magnificent edition of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba.

March, 1889.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

ST. AILRED, the author of the Life of St. Ninian, was the son of Æillavus or Eilef Lawreu, a priest at Hexham. He was born in the year 1109, and began life at the Scottish Court, where he was educated along with Prince Henry, son of David I., whose favour he long continued to enjoy. At the time Northumberland and Cumberland were under the jurisdiction of the Scottish crown and Æillavus and his family were in consequence Scottish subjects. How long Ailred remained at the Court of David I. is unknown. He left it to become a monk, and in the year 1133 entered the Cistercian house of Rievaulx, in Yorkshire, which had recently been founded by Walter Espec, and of which William, the friend and correspondent of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, was the president. Here Ailred remained nine years, and held the office of master of the novices. From Rievaulx he removed to Revesby in Lincolnshire, to take charge of the monastery which William de Romara, Earl of Lincoln, had recently built and dedicated to St. Mary and St. Lawrence. Ailred's stay at Revesby seems to have been short; for in 1146 he was chosen Abbot of Rievaulx, an office which he held during the remainder of his life. He attended the chapter of his order at Citeaux in or about the year 1162, and was present on his return in the Abbey of Westminster at the translation of the relics of Edward the Confessor. After suffering for many years from calculus and arthritica passio, he died on the 12th of January 1166, and was canonized in 1191. His tomb, sumptuously adorned with gold and silver, was still shown in Leland's time.

Ailred shared in the literary spirit of his times, and was the

author of numerous works. Besides the Life of St. Ninian, which singularly enough is mentioned neither by Capgrave nor Cave, the following works are attributed to him : A History of the Life and Miracles of Edward the Confessor ; A Description of the Battle of the Standard ; An Eulogium of St. David of Scotland ; A Genealogy of the Kings of England ; A Life of King Edward, written in verse and addressed to Lawrence, Abbot of Westminster ; A Rule for Nuns ; A Speculum Charitatis ; An Account of the Foundation of the Monasteries of St. Mary at York and of Fountains ; A Tractate on the Sunday within the Octave of the Epiphany ; A Dialogue on the Nature of the Soul ; and various letters, homilies, and sermons.¹ Henriquez adds to this list, but remarks, "Nota quod hujus scripta quædam cum scriptis Edilredi Abbatis Wardensis confunduntur."²

According to Reginald of Durham, Ailred visited Galloway in the year 1164, and was present in Kirkcudbrightshire on the Feast of St. Cuthbert in that year. He mentions also that, on the occasion referred to, a penitent was miraculously freed from an iron belt which he wore, and that a bull which had been offered in oblation to St. Cuthbert, was baited in the churchyard by the clerics, "qui Pictorum lingua Scollofthes connominantur ;" and further, that the said bull gored one of the bystanders to death for having, when rebuked, mocked the Saint to whom it had been offered. Whether Ailred was in Galloway at any other period is not known ; but that he was there, at least once, is vouched for also by Capgrave, who describes his visit, and gives a very graphic account of the low moral condition of the people.³

It was probably while visiting the South-west of Scotland that Ailred was induced to undertake the writing of St. Ninian's Life. From the Prologue, it appears to have been written at the desire of a Bishop of Candida Casa. This Bishop was, in all probability, Christianus, who was consecrated

¹ Cave, *Hist. Lit.*, pp. 672-3.

² Dr. Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentig.*, p. ix.

³ *Reg. Dunelm.* Surtees Ed., pp. 178, 179 ; cited by Dr. Forbes, p. ix.

to the See at Bermondsey, by the Archbishop of Rouen acting for him of York, on the 19th of December, 1154. In 1177, Christianus was suspended from the Episcopal Office for refusing to attend the Council summoned to meet at Edinburgh, by the Legate Vivian. He died at Holm Cultram, October 7, 1186, having survived Ailred by twenty years.⁴

According to a rubric at the beginning of the Life in the MS. at the British Museum, the Life was translated by Ailred out of the Anglic into the Latin tongue. The statement is extremely doubtful. Both in the Prologue and the Life, Ailred speaks of his original authority being written in a "simpler, rustic style" and a "barbarous language," and the implication of the Prologue would seem to be, that these terms are used to designate the vernacular of the country round about Candida Casa; and if this be the case, the narrative used by Ailred would be written not in some 'Anglic' dialect, but in the Celtic dialect, which continued to be spoken around Candida Casa down to a period considerably later than that at which Ailred wrote. It has been said by Dr. Forbes that "it is not to be supposed that a British or Cambrian book should have outlived all the troubles in Galloway, and first the establishment, and then the destruction of the Saxon Hierarchy at Candida Casa." But it is not at all incredible that such may have been the case. Other books have outlived quite as many troubles; and why not a Celtic Life of St. Ninian?

What the older Life contained, it is impossible now to ascertain with any degree of precision. Unless it was the source whence the Venerable Bede obtained his information respecting St. Ninian, which it does not seem to have been, it does not appear to have contained much, if indeed anything, of historical importance. The few historical facts in Ailred's Life are admittedly taken from Bede; but all the rest is mainly legend. His narrative cannot even be taken as giving a picture of Galloway in the time of Ninian. Almost the best that can be said of it is, that, with the few exceptions referred to, it contains a number of indications of what it was in

⁴*Chron. Mailros*, cit. Hadden and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccles. Doc.*, ii. 44.

Ailred's time, and of what he imagined it was in St. Ninian's, together with a number of legends he found written down or floating about in the popular mind.

Ailred's Life of St. Ninian was first printed by Pinkerton in the Original Edition of the present work, from a beautiful MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It was again, and more correctly, printed by Bishop Forbes in 1874, who also collated the MS. in the British Museum. For the present edition, the Bodleian MS. has been again read, and a very few additional corrections made. The corrections made on Pinkerton's text are numerous, and the Prologue, which for some unaccountable reason he omitted, has been supplied.

In a volume of the Lives of the Saints in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, there is another life of St. Ninian in an abridged form. This is said to have been in all probability the one used by Capgrave when compiling his Life of the Saint for his *Nova Legenda*. The old Irish Life, from which Ussher gives an extract, and of which the Bollandists say they had a translation made for them by Father Fitzsimon, cannot now be found. The same has to be said of two MSS. of the Life of St. Ninian, which, according to the Bollandists, formerly existed, one belonging to the Carthusian Convent at Cologne, and the other to the Monasterium Rubeæ Vallis. The nine readings in the Office of the Saint in the Aberdeen Breviary are evidently taken from St. Ailred's Life.⁵

One of the most interesting sources of information respecting St. Ninian is an anonymous MS. belonging to the University Library, Cambridge, and written in the Scottish dialect of the Fourteenth Century. This MS. contains a series of fifty Legends or Lives of the Saints, among which is the Life or Legend of St. Ninian. The work was discovered by Mr. Henry Bradshaw, and in 1866 was ascribed by him to John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen and author of *The Bruce*. At the present moment its authorship is under discussion, but whoever its author was the interest attaching to it is great.⁶

⁵ For a fuller account of the Lives than can here be given see Dr. Forbes' work, pp. i-vi.

⁶ The work has been edited by Dr. C. Horstmann of Berlin. It is at present

While narrating several of the incidents recorded by Ailred, it records others, some of which are said to have happened in the author's own day.

With the exception of the few facts cited from the Venerable Bede, Ailred's narrative is for the most part, as has already been remarked, unhistorical, and it is now impossible to construct more than the merest outline of the Saint's life. The date of his birth is unknown, but as he died in or about the year 432, it may be probably fixed about the year 366 or soon after the middle of the Fourth Century. If we may believe Ailred, he was born somewhere near the shores of the Solway Firth, and was of royal descent. According to the old Irish Life his mother was a Spanish princess. Both his parents are said to have been Christians, and, according to the Scottish Legend, he received the name of Ninian in baptism. The Irish life represents his father as first consenting to his following the religious life, and as then wishing to bring him back into the world. Of his teachers nothing is said; but being apt to learn, he soon, we are told, surpassed them in learning. Then, as the Scottish Legend puts it,

“He thoct he wald pas forthymare
And be parfite into sic lare;
For scorne it ware gret to se
The thechure suld unkennand be.
Tharefor his kyne and his cunctre
He leuit, and passit oure the se,
And dressit hyme Rome to seke
Gyf he mycht thare his science eke,
And [als] for to sek sanctis sere,
That plentusly in that place were,
For til eke his deuocione,
And get the Papis benysone.”

Accordingly he set out on his pilgrimage,

“And, helpand God, sene come he
But lettinge sone oure the se,
And come to Rome in lytil space,
Hale and sownd, be Godis grace,

being issued by the Scottish Text Society. In the notes it is referred to as Barbour's.

And the Papis presence wane,
That wyse wes and haly mane."

The Pope would be either Damasus, (A.D. 366-384), or Siricius, (A.D. 385-399). After studying several years in Rome, Ninian was raised to the Episcopate by the Pope himself, in, it is said, 394, and sent to preach the Gospel in the parts of Western Britain where it had not been preached, or where it had been preached in a corrupt form. On his way home Ninian visited St. Martin of Tours, with whom he held much spiritual intercourse, and from whom he received masons, or, according to the Scottish Legend, "masonis twa," to build churches according to the Roman method. On his arrival in Galloway he built his church at Witerna, now Whithern or Whithorn, either on the site occupied by the later Abbey or on the island near the shore, called the Isle of Whithern. Tradition is in favour of the latter, but the exact spot is uncertain. As the building was being completed, news reached Ninian of the death of St. Martin, and to him he dedicated the church. St. Martin's death took place somewhere between 397 and 401, and affords the nearest approximation to a precise date in connection with St. Ninian.

The chief field of his missionary labours was Galloway, the country of the Niduari Picts; but, according to Bede, he extended his labours to the "australes Picti." These are said to have inhabited the counties of Kincardine, Forfar, Perth, Kinross, Fife, and Clackmannan. Whether the Saint's labours extended to these counties is open to doubt. By "australes Picti," Bede may have meant simply the Picts of Galloway; while the fact that the Saint has many dedications in the above mentioned counties, can, perhaps, be taken as indicating little more than the measure of veneration in which he was held.

To what extent St. Ninian was connected with Ireland is not known. That he had some connection with it seems to be certain. The story of the Irish Life, however, that towards the close of his life he was compelled to flee from Galloway and sought refuge in Ireland and was buried there, is scarcely probable. Still the fact that he was known in Ireland and was held in reverence there, cannot be doubted, as his name with

the affectionate prefix *mo* (my) is found in several of the Calendars. At his day, the Drummond Kalendar has "Et in Hibernia natale Sanctorum confessorum et sacerdotum Lasren Monein et Lasren."

The date of St. Ninian's death is almost, if not indeed altogether, as uncertain as any other event in his life, with the single exception mentioned above. September 16, 432, has been usually given, sometimes as on the authority of Bede, and sometimes as on that of Ailred; but the date is to be found in neither writer. The author of the Scottish Legends of the Saints gives September 16, 332, which is probably a mistake for September 16, 432; and if so, we have in this tradition of the Fourteenth Century, a confirmation of the generally accepted date. Other dates given are 437 and 512.

Of the esteem in which St. Ninian was held the stories related of him by St. Ailred, which probably formed the main part of the "*liber de Vita et Miraculis ejus barbario scriptus*" he used, and which, in all likelihood, simply repeated the local traditions of Galloway, are a sufficient witness. Further evidence to the same effect is in the number of dedications to the Saint. These, in Scotland, as enumerated by Dr. Forbes,⁷ are no fewer than sixty-six, and are found in Wigtonshire, Lanarkshire and Mid Lothian, in Argyllshire and Perthshire, and along the East Coast as far North as the Shetland Isles. But perhaps the most interesting evidence is that given by the author of the Cambridge MS, in the following lines:

"And for he sa weile [her] wrocht,
Of hyme God forzetful is nocht,
Bot his relykis menskis ay,
Quhare thai ar fe[r]terit in Galouay.
The quhilk fertir men beris ay
Of Whitsone owke the Twysday
Vith festiual procession
Til a chepal be-owt the tone
Ner the quartar of a myl
And, as it thare has bene a quhile,
Hame to the Abbay thai it ber
Vith gret solempnyte and fere;

⁷ *Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, pp. 13-17

Bot one it lais na man hand
 Bot the maste vorthi of the land,
 That be lyne of succession
 Beris it in processione.
 And that tyme for the pardone gret
 Meny pressis thare it to get.
 That pardone is lestand ay
 Fra the forsad Twysday
 Of Sanct Johne the Baptist to the birth,
 Bath with solempnite and mirth.
 Forthi that tyme ilke zere
 Men cumis [thar] of landis sere,
 Of France, of Ingland, and of Spanze,
 Of the pardone for bewanze,
 And of all landis this half Proyse
 Men cumis thare of common oyse
 Of Valis and [of] Ireland eke
 Thar hyddir men wil seke
 In sic nowmir, I tak one hande,
 That sic day [wele] tene thousande
 Thar men with [se], forout mar
 Oftyme that cumis thare."

The number of miracles which are said to have been wrought at St. Ninian's tomb, or through his intervention, is very great. St. Ailred simply says; "At his most sacred tomb the sick were cured, the lepers cleansed, the wicked terrified, the blind receive their sight;" but the author of the Scottish Version of the Saint's Life, when accounting for the great annual concourse of pilgrims at Candida Casa, gives the following much more detailed account:—

" . . . at Quhythorne is wrocht ilke day
 Fer ma vonderis than I cane say,
 Of Sancte Niniane be the prayere
 For men that ar in parilis here,
 One sey, one land, or in seknes,
 Or ony maner of distres;
 Of the quhilkis gyf I tald nov
 The teynd part, men suld nocht trev.
 For def men thar gettis herynge,
 And blynd [men] als parfit seyng,
 Halt men als thare gettis bute
 That has seknes in hand or fute,
 And dume [men] als gettis the speke,
 That mekily vil Niniane seke.

And als of parlesy
 Men gettis thar heile parfitly,
 And [sum thru] ydropcy [sa] grete
 Swolline, that thai ma nocht ete,
 Ar swampe mad at the prayere
 Of Sanct Niniane, hale and fere ;
 And vthir [men] that of thare vit
 Vod war, gettis it ;
 And sume that pane had of the stane,
 Or seknes in [thar] flesch or bane,
 Or quhat kyne [vthir] infirmyte
 Man haf, gyf that he
 Socht Sanct Niniane deuotely
 Gat heile, tho it war myslary,
 Thru the Giffar of al grace,
 To quhame Sanct Niniane seruand vas."

St. Ninian lived in one of the chief epochs in the history of the Christian Church. In the East, the Gregories, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom, were toiling and suffering for the faith, and in the West the destinies of the Church were being moulded by no less Saints than Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine. In Britain all was anarchy and barbarous warfare. The Roman legions were being withdrawn, and Britons, Saxons, Picts, and Scots, were each fighting for their own hand. In these troublous times St. Ninian appeared, and attempted in another way, and under the inspiration of a different spirit, what the Roman legionaries had failed to effect. To use the words of the old Scottish Legend, "thru his lif and his techinge," he

" Ensampl gef of gud lowinge
 Til al that mycht hym se or here,
 Or quhare he can duel come nere ;
 For as a lavntern he wes lycht,
 That in myrknes giffis men sycht,
 Hou thai suld lefe errour ay,
 And to uertu ches the vay,
 And in this mirknes gang sa ewine
 That thai emples God in bevyne ;
 And til men of al estate
 Ledar he wes of the richt gat."

II.

ST. CUMMIAN or Cuimene Ailbhe,¹ the author of the first Life of St. Columba in the present volume, and seventh Abbot of Hy, was the son of Ernan, son of Fiachna, of the race of Conall Gulban, and the district of Tyrconnel. Contemporary with him was another Cummián, whose church was at Kilcummin, now Kilcomin, in the barony of Clonlisk, King's County, who distinguished himself by his opinions and zeal in the Paschal controversy, and addressed a well-known letter on the subject to Seghine, Abbot of Hy, in 634. Colgan, O'Connor, O'Donovan, and others regard them as one and the same individual. Lanigan, Grub, Reeves, and others look upon them as different persons, living at the same time, and taking opposite sides in the same controversy. The question is one which probably cannot be definitely settled; but the opinion which holds them to have been different individuals seems the more likely. The author of the Letter to Seghine incurred the displeasure of his order, and was rebuked by its members as a schismatic and forsaker of the traditions of his country, and, with antecedents such as these, it is scarcely probable that he would be appointed President of Hy within five years of Seghine's death.

At what time Cummián, or Cuimene, crossed over to Hy and obtained admission into its brotherhood, is not known. His uncle Seghine was President from A.D. 623 to A.D. 652, and it was probably during his rule that Cummián left Tyrconnel and took up his abode in Iona. He succeeded Suibhne as Abbot of Hy in 657. During his presidency Iona was for the second time devastated by a violent pestilence. In 661 he visited Ireland, and died February 24, 669. Colgan has written a memoir of him,² but having identified the author of the Letter to Seghine with the seventh Abbot of Hy, he has

¹ Other forms of his name are Cumian, Cummene, Cumine. He was surnamed Finn, Ailbhe, Albus, the Fair.

² *Acta SS. Hib.*, Feb. 24.

mixed up the facts which belong to the one with those that belong to the other. Bishop Forbes has followed him.³

Cummian must have written his Life of St. Columba within sixty years after the latter's death. He may have seen him or he may not ; but there can be little doubt that his materials were obtained from those who were personally acquainted with the Saint. The Life was first printed in the Belfort Supplement to Surius from a manuscript of Miræus, at Antwerp. Subsequently it was printed by Colgan in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, who gave it the first place in his series of five Lives of the Saint. He pronounced it very old, but expressed no opinion as to its authorship, though he seems to have been disposed to believe, that if it was written by any one who was generally known to have written about St. Columba, its probable author was St. Cainnechus.⁴ That its author was Cummian he does not appear to have had any suspicion ; for he gives four reasons for believing that his *Vita Secunda* was Cummian's.⁵ The matter was, however, definitely settled, as Dr. Reeves observes, in 1733, when Mabillon printed a Life from a manuscript of Compeigne,⁶ which, as the Bollandist editor remarks, differs only "in aliquibus loquendi formulis" from Colgan's, with the words "auctore Cummeneo Albo" in the title.⁷ "Thus," remarks Dr. Reeves, "a work which was supposed by some to have been lost, was brought to light from two independent sources." The oldest of the Lives, Cummian's, is also the shortest. Adamnan used it as the groundwork of his third book, and with the exception of four chapters which he has used in an earlier part, has transferred the whole of it to its pages.⁸ As the text for

³ *Kal. Scot. Saints*, 316-17.

⁴ P. 319.

⁵ P. 320.

⁶ *Acta SS. Bened. Ord.*, i., pp. 342-349, Venet., 1733.

⁷ The full title is *Vita S. Columbæ Abbatis Hyensis in Anglia Auctore Cummeneo Albo perantiquo ex MS. Cod. Compendiensi Monasterii*.

⁸ The following table shows the parallel passages. The first line shows the chapters in Cummian, the others the references in Adamnan :

their *Vita Brevior*,⁹ the Bollandists have given the preference to Colgan's, being of opinion that the scribe who wrote the *Compeigne MS.* "recentiorem Latinæque linguæ studiosorem fuisse."¹ But, as Dr. Reeves has pointed out, Mabillon's text will be found on comparison to agree better with Adamnan's.² The text printed by Pinkerton was Mabillon's. In the present reprint some errors have been corrected, and Mabillon's punctuation restored.

III.

St. Adamnan, the author of the second Life of St. Columba, was the ninth Abbot of Hy, and the most able and accomplished of St. Columba's successors. His name is

Cap. i.,	-	-	-	Bk. III., cap. i.	
ii.,	-	-	-	"	ii.
iii.,	-	-	-	"	iv.
iv.,	-	-	-	"	iv., II. i.
v.,	-	-	-	"	v.
vi.,	-	-	-	"	vi.
vii.,	-	-	-	"	xi.
viii.,	-	-	-	"	xii.
ix.,	-	-	-	"	viii.
x.,	-	-	-	"	xv.
xi.,	-	-	-	"	xvi.
xii.,	-	-	-	"	xvii.
xiii.,	-	-	-	"	xviii.
xiv.,	-	-	-	II.,	xxxvii.
xv.,	-	-	-	III.,	xix.
xvi.,	-	-	-	"	xxii.
xvii.,	-	-	-	"	xxii., xxiii.
xviii.,	-	-	-		
xix.,	-	-	-		
xx.,	-	-	-		
xxi.,	-	-	-	"	xxiii.
xxii.,	-	-	-		
xxiii.,	-	-	-		
xxiv.,	-	-	-		
xxv.,	-	-	-	I.,	i., viii., II. xxxii., xxxiii., xxvi., xxi.
xxvi.,	-	-	-	II.,	xliv.
xxvii.,	-	-	-	I.,	iii.

Cummian's narrative is usually expanded by Adamnan, who also in many instances supplies the names of individuals and places.

⁹ *June tom.*, ii., pp. 184-187, ed. 1867.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

² *Adamn.* pp. 199-200, n.

said to be a diminutive of Adam, and occurs also as Adam-pnanus, Adomnanus, Thewnan, Aunan, Eunan, Onan, Ounan, Fidamnan, Teunan, Eonan, and Arnold.¹ He was born in Ireland, at Drumhome, in the South-west of Donegal, in or about the year 624. By his father Ronan, who was sixth in descent from Conall Gulban, the head of one of the two great races of the Northren Hy Neill, he was of the same lineage as St. Columba. His mother, Ronnat, was descended from Enna, a son of Niall, whose race, the Cinel Enna, took possession of the country between the Foyle and Swilly, called formerly Tir-Enna, or land of Enna, and now the barony of Raphoe, where stood the ancient church of Rath-both, said to have been founded by St. Columba, but for which, when it became the seat of a bishop, Adamnan was adopted as the patron saint, under the softened form of his name St. Eunan. Of Adamnan's early years nothing is known; not even a legend has survived, except the following in the life of Finnachta the Festive, a chief of the Southern Hy Neill, and subsequently, King of Ireland:—"Not long after this, Finnachta came, with a numerous cavalcade, to the house of his sister, whither he was invited to be her guest. As they were riding along the way, they met Adamnan, then a schoolboy, who was travelling upon the same road, with a jar of milk upon his back. And as he fled from the way, before the cavalcade, he knocked his foot against a stone, and stumbled, and the jar fell from his back and was broken. Upon which Finnachta said, 'Thou shalt receive protection, O student, from me,' and he prayed him not to be sorrowful. Then said Adamnan, 'O good man, I have cause for grief, for there are three goodly students in our house, and three more of us are attendants upon them. And how we act is this: one attendant from among us goes out in turn to collect sustenance for the other five; and it was my turn to-day, but what I had gathered for them has been spilled upon the ground; and, what grieves me more, the

¹ Reeves, *Adamnani Vita Columbae*, pp. 256, and lxi. *n. i.*, the principal authority for all that concerns St. Columba, his biographers, and the Columbian monks.

borrowed jar is broken, and I have not wherewith to pay for it.'"²

The Breviary of Aberdeen³ places the novitiate of Adamnan under St. Columba, but this is evidently a mistake. The Abbot under whom he entered the brotherhood of Iona was probably Seghine, the uncle of Cuimene. On the death of Failbhe, in 679, he was chosen president of the Columbian society, being then in his fifty-fifth year.

In the year 686, Adamnan went on a mission to the court of Aldfrid, Prince of Northumbria. This prince had passed several years in Ireland as an exile, and was known among the Irish as Flann Fina and the *alumnus* of Adamnan. The object of Adamnan's mission appears to have been to plead the cause of the Irish captives, whom Ecgfrid's general, Berct, had carried away in 685 from Meath. The Irish Life gives the following account of the circumstances of the journey: "The north Saxons went to Erin and plundered Magh Breg as far as Bealach-duin; and they carried off with them a great prey of men and women. The men of Erin besought Adamnan to go in quest of the captives to Saxonland. Adamnan went to demand the prisoners, and put in at Tracht-Romra. The strand is long, and the flood rapid; so rapid that if the best steed in Saxonland, ridden by the best horseman, were to start from the edge of the tide, when the tide begins to flow, he could only bring his rider ashore by swimming, so extensive is the sand, and so impetuous is the tide. The Saxons now were unwilling to permit Adamnan to land upon the shore. 'Push your curachs on the shore,' said Adamnan to his people, 'for both their land and sea are obedient to God, and nothing can be done without God's permission.' The clerics did as they were told. Adamnan drew a circle with his crozier around the curachs, and God rendered the strand firm under their curachs, and He formed a high wall of the sea about them, so that the place where they were was an island, and the sea went to her limits past it, and did them

² Cit. by Dr. Reeves, p. xlii.

³ *Pars. Estiv.* fol. 114.

no injury. When the Saxons had observed this very great miracle, they trembled for fear of Adamnan, and they gave him his full demand. Adamnan's demand was, that a complete restoration of the captives should be made to him, and that no Saxon should ever again go upon a predatory excursion to Erin ; and Adamnan brought back all the captives."⁴ The real reason, however, why he obtained the release of the captives, of whom there were sixty, was probably, not the one here given, but that which he suggests himself, viz., that Aldfrid was his "friend." Two years later, Adamnan was again at the Court of Aldfrid, but for what purpose is not known. It was probably, as Dr. Reeves has suggested, for the negotiation of some matter of international policy which he had been chosen to advocate and carry through. During both this and his former visit, the great mortality, then prevalent over the greater part of Europe, was ravaging the Kingdom of Northumbria, but on neither occasion was it suffered to touch either Adamnan or his attendants. On the occasion of his second sojourn in Northumbria, Adamnan visited various churches of the Angles, and among them that of Jarrow, where the Abbot Ceolfred had a discussion with him respecting the tonsure and Easter, the questions which were then dividing the British Churches. In consequence of this discussion, Adamnan became a convert to the Catholic usage and a zealous advocate for its adoption. On his return to Iona, he endeavoured to persuade the brotherhood to his own change of views, but without success ; the Roman usage was not adopted among the Columbian monks until under the presidency of Dunchad, when Easter was celebrated for the last time according to the old usage, in 715.

In 692 Adamnan passed over to Ireland. The object of his journey appears to have been both political and ecclesiastical ; on the one hand, to reconcile a quarrel between the race of the Hy Neill and his friend the sovereign of Ireland, King Finnachta, who had incurred the displeasure of the former by remitting to the men of Leinster the tribute they had been in

⁴ Cited by Dr. Reeves, p. xlv.

the habit of paying annually to the chief of the existing dynasty ; and on the other, to bring about the general adoption of the new Easter observance. His stay does not appear to have been long. Five years later, in 697, he returned to Ireland, and was present at a great synod of ecclesiastics and chieftains at Birr, where, according to the Annals of Ulster, "dedit legem innocentium populis." This law was aimed at a great social reformation, and having obtained the highest sanction of the people, became known as the Law of Adamnan. One great reform it is said to have effected was the exemption of women from going to battle. As told by the Book of Lecan, the origin of this salutary reform was as follows : "Adamnan happened to be travelling one day through the plain of Bregia with his mother on his back, when they saw two armies engaged in mutual conflict. It happened then that Ronait, the mother of Adamnan, observed a woman, with an iron reaping-hook in her hand, dragging another woman out of the opposite battalion with the hook fastened in one of her breasts. For men and women went equally to battle at that time. After this Ronait sat down, and said, 'Thou shalt not take me from this spot until thou exemptest women for ever from being in this condition, and from excursions and hostings.' Adamnan then promised that thing. There happened afterwards a convention in Ireland, and Adamnan, with the principal part of the clergy of Ireland, went to that assembly, and he exempted the women at it."⁵

The interval between 697 and the year of his death seems to have been spent by Adamnan in Ireland. In the year 701 he is said to have convened a synod at Tara, and there obtained the condemnation of Irgalach, son of Conang, great-grandson of Aedh Slaine, and lord of Cianachta in Meath, who was guilty of the murder of his own cousin Niall, son of Cearnach Sotal. Adamnan died in the year 704, aged seventy-seven, on the 23rd of September, on which day he is celebrated in the Irish and Scottish calendars.

In the esteem of his contemporaries Adamnan stood high,

⁵ Petrie's *Tara*, p. 147, cit. by Reeves, *Adamn.*, p. 179.

both for his learning and character. Bede, Ceolfrid, and Alcuin speak of him in the highest terms. Later writers, more especially among the Irish, are loud in his praises. He was known as "the noble sage of the western world." The Four Masters say "he was a good man, according to the testimony of St. Beda, tearful, penitent, given to prayer, diligent, ascetic, and temperate; he never used to eat, except on Sunday and Thursday; he made a slave of himself to these virtues; and, moreover, he was wise and learned in the clear understanding of the Holy Scriptures of God."⁶

In addition to the Life of St. Columba, Adamnan was the author of a tract entitled *De Locis Sanctis*, in which he gives an account of the journey to and from the Holy Land of Bishop Arculf, who, on his return home, had been carried by contrary winds to the island of Iona, and had there related to Adamnan the incidents of his travels. He is also said to have written a Life of St. Patrick, an *Historia Hibernorum ab origine ad sua tempora*, an *Epitome metrica triginta voluminum legum Hibernicarum*, and a number of poems.

His Life of St. Columba has been pronounced by Dr. Reeves, "one of the most important pieces of hagiology in existence." It was written about a century after St. Columba's death, and as we learn from the first Preface, in compliance with the urgent request of its author's brethren. The materials used were partly oral and partly documentary. As for the first, Adamnan "was quite near enough to the fountain-head, both in time and place, to draw from authentic sources, for in his boyhood he had frequent opportunities of conversing with those who had seen St. Columba, and he was now writing almost on the very spot where his great predecessor had indited his last words, and surrounded by objects every one of which was fresh with the impress of some interesting association."⁷ For documentary materials, he had the Life by Cumman or Cuimene Ailbhe,

⁶ Cited by Reeves, *Adamn.*, p. lvii.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

whom he cites by name, and whose entire work he has transferred almost verbatim to his own pages. He had also another memoir, on the authority of which he relates an incident not recorded in Cumminian (III. 23). In addition to these he had, as Dr. Reeves has also pointed out, certain poems on the praises of St. Columba, in Irish, among which was probably the celebrated *Amhra* or panegyric, composed by a contemporary of the Saint. Certain poems ascribed to Baithene Mor, in which he is said to have commemorated some particulars in the Saint's life, and a number of metrical compositions bearing the name of St. Mura, are cited by O'Donnell, which may have been used by Adamnan.⁸

The known MSS. of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba are in all twelve. The seven principal with the signs used to represent them are as follows :—

1. A MS. of the beginning of the Eighth Century, formerly belonging to Reichenau, but now preserved in the Public Library at Schaffhausen, and known as Codex A. It was discovered about the year 1625 in the Benedictine Monastery of Reichenau by Stephen White, a learned Jesuit. The transcript he made of it furnished the text of Colgan's Fourth Life of St. Columba in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, published in 1647. The Bollandists used it as the text for their Vita Prolixior of St. Columba, June, t. ii., 195. It was made the basis of the text printed by Dr. Reeves in his remarkably learned and exhaustive edition of the work prepared for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, published in 1857, and adopted in the same year by the Bannatyne Club as one of its ordinary Club publications.
2. A vellum MS. of the middle of the Fifteenth Century, preserved in the British Museum, *Bibl. Reg.*, 8, D. ix., known as Codex B, and printed by Pinkerton.
3. Codex C, first printed by Canisius in 1604, "ex membranis MS. Monasterii Windbergensis in Bauaria."
4. Codex D is contained in a large vellum MS. of the

⁸ *Ibid.*

Thirteenth Century, preserved in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, usually, though erroneously, called the Book of Kilkenny, and marked v. 3, 4. Its text is of the shorter recension.

5. Codex F is a vellum MS. in quarto, of the Tenth Century, formerly belonging to the Church of Freisingen in Bavaria, but now in the Royal Library at Munich, under the number 6341. It is pronounced by Dr. Reeves "the most respectable manuscript of the shorter recension."

6. Codex S is a small MS. in vellum of the Ninth Century, preserved in the Library of St. Gall, No. 555.

7. The Codex Cottonianus, a vellum MS. of the latter part of the Twelfth Century, formerly in the possession of Sir Robert Cotton, but now in the British Museum, *Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, D. iii.* It suffered considerable damage in the fire of 1731. Dr. Reeves, who examined it, at pp. 456-458 of his work, has given a list of its *variæ lectiones*. The text is almost identical with that of Cod. B.

Other MSS. of the Life are reported at Admont, a cathedral town of Styria; at Heiligenkreutz, in Austria; at Salmansweiler, a Cistercian monastery, on the north side of Lake Constance; and at Tegernsee, a monastery of Bavaria.⁹ There is also a fragment of a Life of St. Columba, differing very little from Adamnan's, in the Codex Salamanticensis. It was printed by Colgan as the second part of his *Vita Secunda*. The whole of the Codex Salamanticensis has recently been edited by C. de Smedt and J. de Backer, two learned Jesuits, and printed at the expense of the Marquess of Bute.

The Life of St. Columba was first printed by Henry Canisius, in the fifth volume of his *Antiquæ Lectiones*, on the authority of Codex C, in 1604. His text was reproduced in Surius, and in 1624 by Messingham, in his *Florilegium Insule Sanctorum*. In 1647 Colgan printed the Reichenau text (Codex A) as the Fourth Life in his *Trias Thaumaturga*. The same text was again printed in 1698 by the Bollandists, from a transcript supplied by Stephen White, who had previ-

⁹ For a fuller account of the MSS., see Dr. Reeves' work, pp. xiii. *et seq.*, from whence the above has been taken.

ously furnished Colgan with his text. In 1725 Canisius's text was once more reprinted by Basnage in his *Thesaurus Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum et Historicorum*. The Life next appeared in the original edition of the present work. Pinkerton professed to give the text of the MS. in the British Museum, Cod. B. The defect in the beginning of that MS. he made up from Canisius, from whom also he borrowed a number of readings. The better and fuller texts of Colgan and the Bollandists he neglected. The last and by far the best edition of the Life is the one already referred to as prepared by Bishop Reeves for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society in 1857. The work is in every respect a magnificent piece of editing, and an almost inexhaustible mine of information on all things pertaining to St. Columba and the fraternity of Hy.

In the present edition it has been borne in mind that the text professed to be produced by Pinkerton was that of B: but in numerous instances when a better reading has presented itself, it has been adopted. The defect in the MS. has been supplied from Colgan, the Bollandists, and Dr. Reeves. To Dr. Reeves the editor has been indebted for permission to make use of his readings of B and Codex Cott. To the same learned author he is also indebted for the generous permission to make use of the information contained in the very ample and erudite notes, which are not the least valuable feature in his *Adamnani Vita Columbæ*, and on which every editor of Adamnan must henceforth more or less draw. For several pieces of information contained in the notes to the present volume the editor has been indebted to Dr. W. F. Skene's edition of Adamnan.

St. Columba was born at Gartan in Donegal on the 7th of December. Authorities are divided as to the year, but the most probable is 521. By his father, Fedhlimidh, St. Columba was descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Ireland, and was connected with the reigning house of British Dalriada. By his mother, Eithne, daughter of Dima, son of Nae, he was descended from Cathaer Mor, King of Leinster and afterwards King of Ireland. He was baptized by the presbyter Cruithnechan at Tulach-Dubhglaise, now Temple-

Douglas, under the name, first, of Crimthann, and then of Colum, to which was afterwards added the suffix *cille*, signifying "of the church," because, it is said, of his diligent attendance at the church of his youthful sojourn, or, as it is also said, because of the many communities he formed. The chief part of his boyhood is said to have been spent at Doire-Eithne, a village not far from Gartan. His chief instructors were St. Finnian of Moville, by whom he was ordained deacon; Gemman, an aged bard in Leinster, St. Finnian of Clonard, and Mobhi Clarainech of Glasnevin, near Dublin. While at Clonard with St. Finnian he was ordained to the priesthood by Etchen, the bishop of Clonfad, to whom he was sent for that purpose by St. Finnian, who does not appear to have been a bishop. At Glasnevin he is said to have had among his fellow-students SS. Comgall, Ciaran, and Cainnech, who had been his companions at Clonard. In 544 the school at Glasnevin was broken up by the plague and Columba returned to the North. The following year, according to the Annals of Ulster, he founded the church of Derry, and about the year 553 the monastery of Durrow, of which, as his chief institution in Ireland, Bede makes special mention. In 563, St. Columba, now in his forty-second year, passed over with twelve attendants to the West of Scotland. The precise reason for this has not been ascertained. According to Bede and Adamnan he withdrew from Ireland voluntarily, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel in Scotland; but according to others he became an exile in consequence of a sentence of excommunication passed upon him at the Synod of Teltown in Meath, held soon after the battle of Cooldrevny in 561, which is said to have been brought about chiefly by his instigation. The weight of opinion, however, is on the side of Adamnan and Bede. In support of it there is the fact, that St. Columba returned more than once to Ireland and took an active part in its civil and religious affairs. At his arrival in Scotland the Scots were already Christians in name; the Picts were not. Columba visited the kings of both and obtained from them possession of the island of Hy, I, I-colme-kille, Iova, or Iona, where he built his monastery, and resided during the remainder of his life, making it the centre of his missionary en-

terprise, and the point from whence his influence penetrated to almost every corner of Scotland and Pictland. In 573 he lost his friend and admirer, St. Brendan of Birr. The following year he formally inaugurated his cousin, Aidan, King of British Dalriada, the sovereignty of which had become vacant through the death of Conall, the prince by whom he had probably been invited to take up his residence in Scotland. In 575 he accompanied Aidan to the Synod of Drumceatt, when the claims of the Irish King to the homage of British Dalriada were abandoned, and the independence of that province declared. Two years later, in 577, died St. Brendan of Clonfert, and in 579 St. Finnian of Moville. Besides the battle of Cooldrevny, St. Columba is said to have been directly or indirectly concerned in two others, the battle of Coleraine and the battle of Cuilfedha, near Clonard. The first of them is said to have originated in a quarrel which arose between St. Columba and St. Comgall respecting a church of the latter's in the neighbourhood of Coleraine. In the second, as in that of Cooldrevny, the Northern and Southern branches of the Hy Neill were opposed to each other, but to what extent St. Columba participated in either of the battles is not known. That he was deeply interested in them is unquestionable. As already noticed, it was customary as late as in Adamnan's time for women to enter battle, and the monastic communities of Ireland were not formally exempted from military service until the year 804. Subsequently to June 585, St. Columba again visited Ireland, when he proceeded westward from Durrow to Clonmacnois, and was there received with tokens of the utmost affection and respect. Eight years later he appears to have been visited with sickness and to have been brought near to death ; but he survived till just after midnight, between Saturday the 8th and Sunday the 9th June, 597, when he died, kneeling, before the altar, without struggle or pain.

Adamnan describes St. Columba as angelic in appearance, graceful in speech, with a holy joy ever beaming in his face, and implies that he was altogether dove-like in character ; but Montalembert is perhaps nearer the truth when he says, that in temper he was no "Columba," gentleness being the one vir-

tue that he most lacked ; that he was vindictive, passionate, bold, a man of strife, born to be a soldier rather than a monk ; full of contradictions and contrasts ; tender and irritable, rude and courteous, ironical and compassionate, caressing and imperious, grateful and revengeful. Dr. Reeves remarks that in judging of the martial propensities of St. Columba, " it will always be necessary to bear in mind the complexion of the times in which he was born, and the peculiar condition of society in his day, which required even women to enter battle, and justified ecclesiastics in the occasional exercise of warfare. Moreover, if we may judge from the biographical records which have descended to us, primitive Irish ecclesiastics, and especially the superior class, commonly known as Saints, were very impatient of contradiction, and very resentful of injury. Excommunication, fasting against, and cursing, were in frequent employment, and inanimate, as well as animate objects are represented as the subjects of their maledictions. St. Columba, who seems to have inherited the high bearing of his race, was not disposed to receive injuries, or even affronts, in silence." He was passionately fond of fine manuscripts, and would incur any amount of trouble or risk in order to procure or copy them. For the national poetry of his country and for the bards, he always manifested the greatest favour, and is himself accounted one of the poets of Ireland.

In the Second Preface, Adamnan styles St. Columba "monasteriorum pater et fundator." The Old Irish Life states that his churches numbered three hundred, and in lists, which are admittedly incomplete, there are enumerated thirty-seven dedications to him in Ireland, thirty-three among the Albanic Scots, and twenty-five among the Picts of Scotland—making in all, in Scotland and Ireland, ninety-five.¹ There were probably many others, of which nothing is now known.

¹ Reeves, *Adamn.*, pp. 286, 462 ; Skene, *Adamn.*, xlix ; Forbes, *Kal. Scot. SS.* ; Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 493.

IV.

No ancient Latin Life of St. Machar, Machor, or Mauritius, is now known to exist. The best available sources of information respecting the Saint are—1. The Life in the Scottish version of the Legends of the Saints already referred to as containing a Life of St. Ninian; 2. The lections in the Office of the Saint in the Aberdeen Breviary; and 3. The account given of him by O'Donnell in his Life of St. Columba—all of which seem to have been derived from a work now lost. References will also be found to him in the *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, in the *Martyrology of Aberdeen*, in Boethius, in Dempster, and in Camerarius. The fullest and most important source is the poem attributed to Barbour.

According to the Aberdeen Breviary, "sanctum virum gignit Hibernia, educavit illum Albania, cujus corpus in reverentia Turonensis tenet ecclesia." He was the son of an Irish chieftain, named Syaconus or Fiachna, and Synchena or Finchoemia. The date of his birth is unknown. King places him as late as the end of the Ninth Century, but Dr. Reeves identifies him with Tochannu Mocufir-cetea, one of the twelve companions of St. Columba. According to the Aberdeen Breviary he was a contemporary and disciple of St. Colman, who named him in baptism Mocumma. He was fostered by "ane callit Telemane, the quhilk had riches at will." Already as a child he is said to have exhibited signs of great sanctity. Angels were seen hovering around his cradle; the dead body of his younger brother when placed in bed with him, was warmed by the touch of his flesh and restored to life; and on two occasions he was himself miraculously saved from destruction. When his fosterage was ended, his father, according to the Scottish Legend, took him to St. Columba, by whom he was educated.

"And he, that abil was and yyng,
Folouyt his master in al thing
And wald consawe ful sutelly
Quhateure he tacht in-til hy,

And in his hart wele held it.
 Ay retentywe he had a wyt,
 And had hyme in sik degree,
 That his ourmen be sutelte,
 And les than he in gret meknes,
 He wald our-come."

His fame for sanctity as well as for learning soon spread. Men came to him from all parts, but desiring quiet, he resolved to pass to some place, "quhare na man knowlage of hym had." He communicated his resolution to his master, St. Columba, who informed him that he also had formed a similar resolution, but counselled him to go first and obtain the permission of his father and mother. Whereupon—

"The yung man said : 'Sir, I haf nane
 Fadir now but God alane,
 For quham fadir and modir bath
 I wil forsak, tho thaim be lath.
 For thu nixt God is my fadir
 And Haly Kirk is my modir,
 For-thi I wil lewe be na wyse
 Thi cumpany, na thi service.
 For quhare thu gays, wil I ga,
 Til ded tak ane of ws twa.'"

Columba was overjoyed at his disciple's zeal, and changed his name from Mocomma to Machar or Machor. On their arrival at Iona Machar was carried ashore by one Melluma. He remained in Iona for some time, and was then sent by St. Columba to the island of Mull.

"And quhen he thare had bene a quhile
 And prechyt ovr al the Ewangel,"

he returned to Iona and devoted himself to study and to copying the Scriptures. His sanctity and the miracles which were wrought on his behalf, soon aroused the envy of his brethren, and an attempt was made to poison him. St. Columba, therefore, sent him away with seven others to preach the Gospel among the Picts in the North of Scotland. They arrived at a place where a Christian, named Farcare, "that ryches had and mykil mycht," and who had already heard the Saint's fame, besought him to take up his abode with him, offering him any place he might

choose within his own lands whereon to build a church. The Saint accepted the offer, and fixed upon a spot

“ Besyd a watyr bank, that rane
 Into the se, and lyk was thane
 As it a byschopis staf had bene.”

Here “be crafty men a costlyk kirk” was built, which was known, we are told, as the “seg or set” of St. Machar. The exact spot has not yet been identified, but as the author of the legend calls Machar “hye patron of Aberdeen,” some spot in or near Aberdeen is probably meant. But wherever it was, the Saint made it the centre of his labours, and soon gathered around him a large band of disciples. Here he was visited by St. Devenick, when the two agreed that St. Machar should remain where he was, and that Devenick should go to preach the Gospel in Caithness. Before separating it was arranged between the two that when St. Devenick, who was then an old man, died, St. Machar should fetch his body and bury it in the church he had just built. St. Machar now gave himself exclusively to the work of converting the Picts, and wrought many signs and wonders. A bear which was trampling down the corn he changed to stone; a conjuror, or wizard, named Dinon he first discredited and then converted; to one who was born blind he gave sight; and one named Synchenus he restored from death to life. Two young Irishmen who had been attracted by his fame, having mocked both him and his doctrine, he caused to be overtaken by sudden death. He was visited by St. Ternan, and after attending to the interment of St. Devenick,¹ accompanied his old friend and teacher, St. Columba, on his pilgrimage to Rome. While there the reigning Pontiff, Gregory the Great, appointed him Bishop of the Picts, and changed his name from Machar to Morise. On their return the two Saints came

¹ By the Scottish Annalists the death of St. Devenick is said to have taken place in the year 887, in the reign of Selvach or Soluathius. But the Scottish kings of this name were both of the Eighth Century. There are dedications to St. Devenick at Banchory and Methlic, and also at Creich, where he is known as St. Teavneck. See the article in Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Bio.*, i. 882.

to Tours, and there separated, St. Columba continuing his journey to Iona, and St. Machar remaining to preach and take the oversight of the Church at Tours. When three years and a half had passed, St. Machar was taken with a fever which proved fatal. On his death bed he is said to have been visited by St. Martin from heaven, and by St. Columba from Iona. Jesus also, it is said, was seen standing with the Twelve Apostles at his head, and was heard to say—

“Sanct Morise, cum and with me wone
Into my fadir rik but hone.”

At his tomb in Tours many miracles are said to have been wrought. His day is November 12.

V.

Of Jocelin, the author of the first of the two Lives of St. Kentigern, very little is known. He is usually styled “a monk of Furness,” in Lancashire; but how long he resided there, or whether he ever dwelt there for a lengthened period, is uncertain. According to Colgan, he was born in Wales or the ancient kingdom of Cambria, and was a monk first at Chester in Britain, and afterwards at Down in Ireland, whither he seems to have gone in 1182 at the request of John de Courcy, the conqueror of Ulster.¹ In 1185, but not earlier, he is supposed to have written his Life of St. Patrick, which, as we learn from the Prologue, was composed at the request of Thomas, Archbishop of Armagh, Malachias, Bishop of Down, and John de Courcy. In addition to this and the Life of St. Kentigern, he is said to have written the Lives of St. Helen and St. David and of several other Saints for the use of various monasteries. Stowe in his Survey of London mentions a work by him entitled *De Britonum Episcopis*. Extracts from his Life of St. David, and also from another work attributed to him in which

¹ *Trias Thaum.*, p. 108.

the acts of St. Waldeve are narrated, are given by Bower in the *Scotichronicon*.² An abridgement of his Life of St. Helen is cited by Tanner as being found in a MS. in the Bodleian Library. Colgan has printed his Life of St. Patrick as his *Sexta Vita* in his *Trias Thaumaturga*.³ It is also in Messingham's *Florilegium*.⁴

Jocelin wrote his Life of St. Kentigern, as he intimates in the Prologue, at the request of Jocelin, the then Bishop of Glasgow. At the time there was another Life of the Saint in existence, and in common use in the Cathedral of Glasgow. In all probability, it was the Life of which the only remaining fragment is here printed immediately after Jocelin's. It bears to have been written by a certain cleric of St. Kentigern, at the instance of Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow. This Life, assuming it to be the one he refers to, Jocelin condemns, both on account of its obscure and vitiated style, and because at the beginning of the narrative it contains things contrary to sound doctrine and the Catholic faith. In his search for materials he discovered, he tells us, another Life—"a little volume written in the Scotie dialect, filled from beginning to end with solecisms, but containing at greater length the life and acts of the holy Bishop." This he appears to have used as his principal source. Any description of the Translation of the Saint or of the miracles performed after his death, he informs us, he was unable to find. Whether he added anything from the traditions he found floating about as he "wandered through the streets and lanes of the city seeking for the recorded Life of St. Kentigern," he does not say. The inference from his Prologue is that he used such materials only as he found written down.

The Life exists in two MSS., one of which is in the British Museum, Bibl. Cott. Vitellius, c. viii., ff. 148-195; and the other in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, where it is marked V. 3. 4. 16. The first belongs to the Twelfth or Thirteenth Century. It was made by a scribe who knew Latin imperfectly,

² Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, p. 312.

³ Pp. 64-108.

⁴ Pp. 1-85 (Paris, 1624).

and was clumsily corrected by an almost contemporaneous hand. It was first printed by Pinkerton in the original edition of this work. The text of the Dublin MS. was printed by Dr. Forbes in 1874, who also collated with it the MS. used by Pinkerton. The superiority of the Dublin text is incontestible, and it has been thought better to substitute it in the present edition for that of the British Museum MS. The MS. has been again read, and a number of corrections made on the text as printed by Dr. Forbes.

Capgrave printed an abridgement of Jocelin's Life, which was reproduced by the Bollandists at January 13.

The other Life, as already remarked, was written by a cleric of St. Kentigern at the suggestion of Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, who died in 1164. Whether it was ever finished is unknown; only a fragment of it remains. It exists in one MS. in the British Museum, Cott. MSS., Titus A. xix., f. 76-80. It was first printed by Mr. Cosmo Innes in the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, vol. i., p. lxxviii.—lxxxvi.; and afterwards by Bishop Forbes in his *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*. The nine lections in the Office of St. Thenew, or St. Enoch, the mother of Kentigern, in the Aberdeen Breviary, are taken from it; and it is evidently the Life referred to by Fordun, who says it was in the "libro de Dunfermlyn."

The favourite name of St. Kentigern is St. Mungo. In Wales there are no dedications to him; but in Cumberland there are eight, at Aspatia, Bromfield, Caldbeck, Crosthwaite, Grinsdale, Isthington, Sowerby, Mungrisedale; and in Scotland fourteen, viz., two in Dumfriesshire, at St. Mungo or Abermilk and Kirkmahoe in Nithsdale; two in Lanarkshire, at Lanark and Borthwick or Lochwerweth; two in Mid-Lothian, at Penicuik, where is his well, and Currie; one in Berwickshire, at Polwarth; one at Peebles; one at Auchterarder; one at Inverness; one at Alloa; two in Aberdeenshire, at Kynor and Glengarden; and one at Hassendean, in Selkirkshire.⁵

⁵ Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, pp. lxxxii.-xxxv., and lxxxlii. *et seq.*

VI.

The Life of St. Servanus, Serf, Sair, or Serb, exists in but one MS. This is the MS. in the Marsh Library, Dublin, already referred to as containing a version of Jocelin's Life of St. Kentigern. It is a small quarto volume on parchment, with a plain calf binding of the time of James I. or Charles I., and measuring seven and seven-eighths by six and a quarter inches. It consists of sixty-two leaves, written on both sides, on the first twelve of which is the Life of St. Servanus, and on the remaining hundred and twelve that of St. Kentigern. Within the cover is the following inscription—"Josias Hollington me jure tenet 21, 7^{bris}. 1650 ex libris M. Summers" (or Sumners). There is also the name "W^m. Armar" on the fly leaf. The MS. was presented to the Library by Dr. C. Cobbe, Archbishop of Dublin, in the year 1765. It is the work of two copyists, and belongs apparently to the Thirteenth Century. The general condition of the MS. is fair, but unfortunately the binder has cut some of the edges too close, and thus injured the marginal notes. At the beginning of the Life of Servanus there was originally a heading, but so much has been cut away and so much of the colour is faded, that the only words decipherable are "incipit vita Sancti Servani . . . q . . . Sanctum Kentigernum . . .". In the Life of Servanus the chapters are divided as in the Life of Kentigern, but without the headings. Each chapter begins with an illuminated capital in red and green. Its Life of Servanus is mentioned by Ussher, but was apparently unknown to Pinkerton. Wyntown was acquainted with it. It was first printed by Dr. W. F. Skene in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, pp. 412-420. For the present work the MS. has again been read.

The oldest authority for the Life of Servanus is the tract *On the Mothers of the Saints of Ireland*, attributed to Aengus the Culdee, in the Ninth Century, where he is said to be the son of Alma, daughter of the King of Cruithne and Proc King

of Canaan: of Egypt, and "is the venerable old man who possesses Cuilenross, in Stratherne, in the Comgells, between the Ochil Hills and the sea of Giudan."¹ According to the Life here printed his father was Obeth, a King in the land of Canaan, and his mother Alpia, an Arabian princess. After studying thirteen years in Alexandria he became successively Bishop of Canaan, Patriarch of Jerusalem, an honoured guest at Constantinople, and Pope at Rome. He then, under the guidance of an angel, crossed the Alps and came to Scotland, where he met with Adamnan, the biographer of Columba and Abbot of Hy, from whom he received Fife and "from the Mount of the Britons to the Mount which is called Okhel." Brude, son of Dargart, King of the Picts, presented him with Culenross, where he built a church and cemetery. On the shores of Lochleven he again met with Adamnan, who showed him an island in the lake well adapted for his religious community. Upon this island Servanus accordingly built a monastery, where he remained seven years, and then went through Fife, preaching and founding churches everywhere. In neither of these authorities is there the slightest reference to St. Kentigern, or anything to show that St. Serf was in any way connected with him. In the monastic charters now incorporated in the *Registrum Prioratus S. Andreae*, pp. 113-118, it is said that "Brude son of Dergard, gives the isle of Lochleven to the Omnipotent God and to St. Servanus, and to the Keledei hermits dwelling there." Dr. Skene identifies this Brude with Brude the son of Derile, who reigned from 697 to 706, and thus brings Brude, Adamnan and Servanus together, about the close of the Seventh Century, or nearly two centuries later than the time of St. Kentigern.²

The nine lections devoted to the Saint in the Aberdeen Breviary make him a Scot and the suffragan of Palladius, who was sent to Scotland by Pope Celestinus, and thus refer him

¹ Reeves, *British Culdees*, p. 124, quoted from the *Book of Lecan*, p. 43, bb. The sea of Giudan is the Frith of Forth, so called, according to Bede, from the city of Giudi which was in the middle of it. The probability is it stood on the island of Inchkeith.

² *Celt. Scot.*, ii. 259.

back to the Fifth Century.³ At the close of the ninth lection, however, it is said there was another St. Servanus "natione Israeliticus" who lived on the island of Petmook in the time of Adamnan. But this, as Dr. Skene observes, "does not help matters much, as it involves the improbability of both having founded Culenros, and both dying on the same day, the first of July."⁴ The Chronology of the Saint, in fact, though of considerable importance in connection with the Culdees, is involved in obscurity, but the weight of evidence is against the tradition recorded by Jocelin in the Life of St. Kentigern and in favour of the later date given by Dr. Skene.⁵

According to Bishop Forbes the remains of St. Serf were at Culross in 1530. He is the patron of Culross, Creich and Dysart. One of his churches is at Monivaird in Perthshire. He is also found at Dunning. A mortgage on the lands of Hilton in the barony of Dunnottar, is made redeemable "afore S. Serwe altar in the parochie kyrk of Monkege," now Keith-hall, in Aberdeenshire, the present parish church of which is situated on a portion of "Sant Sare's bank" where the fair of St. Sare is said to have been held before its removal to Culsalmond, where it is now held to the North-west of the parish church on the first of July.⁶

VII.

The first Life of St. Margaret was taken by Pinkerton from the Second June Volume of the Venetian Edition (c. 1730) of the *Acta Sanctorum*, where it is printed "ex Membraneo nostro Valcellensi," and edited with great skill and learning by Papebroch, whose introduction, notes, and appendices to the Life Pinkerton also reproduced. But one copy of the Life exists in

³ *Para. aestiv.*, fol. xv.

⁴ *Celt. Scot.*, ii. p. 184, note.

⁵ But see *Celt. Scot.*, ii. pp. 185 and 255-261, and for the other side, the Article by Dr. Gammach in Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, under *Servanus*.

⁶ *Kal. Scot.* SS.

MS. in this kingdom. It is in a folio volume on vellum, of the latter part of the Twelfth Century, and is preserved in the British Museum, where it is marked Cotton Tiberius, D. III. It is one of the MS. which suffered by the fire. In 1868 the Life was issued by the Surtees Society, and in 1884 an excellent translation of it was published by William Forbes-Leith, S.J.

Papebroch contended that the author of the Life was Theodoric, a monk of Durham, but it is now generally ascribed to Turgot,¹ who entered into orders in 1074, became Prior of Durham in 1087, and was consecrated Archbishop of St. Andrews August 1, 1109, by Thomas Second Archbishop of York, with reservation of the rights of his See in respect to the question of the primacy of York over Scotland.* He was for some time the Confessor of St. Margaret, and died in the monastery at Durham in 1115, whither he had obtained permission from the king, to retire, owing to a disagreement with him, probably, as Mr. Robertson suggests, in reference to the necessity of immediately remodelling the state of the Scottish Church.³

Dr. Forbes, who, however, remarks that its author is not necessarily Turgot of St. Andrews, observes with truth of the Life: "It is full of instructive notices of the state of the Scottish Church and Kingdom at the epoch of the Norman Conquest of England, and it supplies us with the first really authentic history of Scotland after the notices in Adamnan and Bæda, the Pictish Chronicle and the Book of Deer." Equally just is his further remark: "There is an atmosphere of calm, unexcited truthfulness about the narrative, as well as an absence of the mythical, which commends it to us as the work of an eminent, truth-loving man, and the incidental allusions to the current history bear the test of all we know of the times."⁴

The text in the present work has been carefully compared

¹ On the question of the authorship see the Preface to *Simeonis Dunelmensis Opera*, Surtees Society, 1868.

* Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccles. Doc.*, ii., pt. i., p. 170.

³ *Scotland under her Early Kings*, i. pp. 151 and 179.

⁴ *Kal. Scot. SS.*, pp. 387 and 390.

with that of the edition of the *Acta Sanctorum*, Paris and Rome, 1867.

The second Life of Queen Margaret has been regarded by some as an abridgement of a Life of the Queen by St. Ailred ; but it is evidently an abridgement of Turgot's, since it repeats it in many places almost word for word. It was reproduced by Pinkerton from the second volume of Surius' *De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis*, with the 1618 edition of which the text has been compared.

By Turgot the place in which Queen Margaret died is not mentioned, but according to Fordun (v. 21), she died in Edinburgh "in castro puellarum," and according to the Chronicle of Mailros on November 16, 1093. In 1250, according to Fordun, but according to Papebroch in 1251, her relics, "inclosed in a grate box of gold set with precious stones," were translated to the High Altar of the Church at Dunfermline. The feast instituted in honour of the occasion was observed in the Scottish Church on the 19th of June.¹ Queen Margaret was canonized by Innocent IV. in 1251. Innocent XII., in 1693, removed her feast from the day of her death to the 10th of June, at the instance, it is said, of James VII., the 10th of June being the birth-day of his son.

VIII.

The Life of St. Magnus is the Latin version of the greater of the two Icelandic Sagas in which the events of the Earl's life are recorded. It was made by Jonas Jonæus, and published by him, along with the Icelandic text, in his *Orkneyinga Saga*, Hafnia, 1780. The Saga itself is made up partly of an Icelandic life of St. Magnus and partly of a translation of a Latin biography of him, written by a certain Master Robert, on the enshrinement of the Saint's relics, on St. Lucy's Day twenty years after his martyrdom, in Christ's Church, Birsay. From

¹ *Brev. Aberd.*, pars æstiv., fol. i.

the mention of Snorri (c. 8.), it could not have been written earlier than 1230. Its author is unknown; and beyond the facts already mentioned, nothing is known of Master Robert, the author of the Latin biography, except that he appears to have been a priest or to have belonged to some religious order. Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson styles him Abbot Robert, and suggests that he was an Orkneyman.¹

The story of St. Magnus is also told by Torfæus, and in the Orkneyinga Saga, of which a translation by Mr. J. Hjaltekin, edited, with an excellent introduction by Dr. Joseph Anderson, appeared in 1873.

A translation of the two St. Magnus Sagas, with Appendices, by Sir George Dasent, is at present awaiting publication in the series issued under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.²

IX.

The Breviary of Aberdeen from which the Legend respecting the translation of the Relics of St. Andrew and several Offices have been reproduced, was prepared and completed under the personal superintendence of William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen in 1504. The first volume was printed in the year 1509, and the second in the year following, the printer being Walter Chepman. Of the first impression of the work, only four copies, more or less complete, are known to exist. These are in the University Library, Edinburgh, the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, the Library at Glamis Castle, and the Library of King's College, Aberdeen. The first alone possesses the title-page, and of the last there is but one volume. A fifth copy was in Innes' time in the Scots College at Paris, but its fate is unknown. It was reprinted for the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs in 1852, under

¹ *Snorri's Saga*, i. xciii.

² A good account of Saint Magnus will be found in the *Scottish Review*, vol. ix., p. 79.

the editorial care of the Rev. W. Blew, M.A. The preface, from which the above notes are taken, was supplied to the reprint by Dr. Laing in 1855, who added the extra sheet from the Glamis copy containing the Office of Our Lady of Pity and an abridgement of Fordun's version of the advent of the relics of St. Andrew.

The traditions respecting St. Andrew are numerous. Most of them will be found in Tischendorf's *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*,³ Abdias' *Historiæ Apostolicæ*,⁴ and the *Legenda Aurea*.⁵ The most important source for his martyrdom is the Epistle of the Presbyters and Deacons of Achaia,⁶ which has furnished the Readings for the Office for the Saint in the Aberdeen Breviary.

The Legend of the bringing of the relics to Scotland, which is given in the second volume of the present work, is taken from the Office of St. Regulus in the Aberdeen Breviary. Two other versions of the same Legend have been printed by Pinkerton and Dr. Skene; the first in the appendix to his Introduction of the History of Scotland, and the second in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*. The Legend is also given by Fordun in his Chronicle of the Scottish Nation, cc. xlv.-xlviii., where, as in the version of the Legend in the extra sheet of the Glamis copy of the Aberdeen Breviary, the names of the companions of St. Regulus are mentioned. As given by Fordun they were: St. Damianus, the priest; the deacons Gelasius and Thubaculus; Merinacus, the brother of St. Damianus; Neriis and Elusenius, from Crete; Mirenus, Machabenus, and his brother Silvius; eight hermits, Felix, Sajanus, Matthew, Maurice, Madianus, Philip, Lucius, and Eugenius; and three holy virgins of Colossia, Tridwana, Potentia, and Emerea.⁷

³ Pp. 105-166.

⁴ Lib. 3.

⁵ Cap. 2, Graesse's edit.

⁶ Surius, vol. v. under Nov. 30. An inferior text of the Epistle is given in Migne's edition of Clem. Rom., vol. i.

⁷ An admirable discussion respecting the relics of St. Andrew by the Marquess of Bute will be found in the Thirteenth Volume of the *Scottish Review*, under the title "The Last Resting Place of St. Andrew."

X.

Walafridus Strabo or Strabus, the author of the Life of St. Blaithmaic, was a not unimportant writer of the Ninth Century, though comparatively little is known about him. He appears to have been born towards the end of the reign of Charles the Great, in Swabia or in some part of the country about the Upper Rhine, since he speaks of the place of his birth as the "terram quam nos Alamanni vel Suevi incolimus," and as the "terra Alamannica." With this agrees the testimony of Sigbert of Semblours and John Trithemius. According to others, however, he was an Anglo-Saxon. By some he is said to have studied first at St. Gall under Grimswald, and by others at Reichenau under Tato. It is generally agreed, however, that he subsequently resided at St. Fulda, and was the pupil of Rabanus Maurus. A similar uncertainty exists as to the chronology and movements of his later years. After holding the office of Dean in the monastery of St. Gall, in 842 he was chosen Abbot of Reichenau, Augia Dives, a not less celebrated House of the Cistercian Order on an island in the lower part of Lake Constance. According to Trithemius he was for some time president of the school at Hirschfeld. Strabo was a somewhat voluminous writer both in prose and verse. His poetical writings refer chiefly to the festivals of the Christian Church and narrate for the most part the incidents in the lives of the Apostles and Martyrs. The longest of his poems describes a vision which appeared to Weltinus, a monk of Reichenau; another is the Life of St. Leger. His prose writings are theological and historical. He died on the 17th of July 849, while on a journey to the Court of Charles the Bald.¹

Of St. Blaithmaic nothing is known beyond what is contained in Strabo's verses. Hugo Menard, in his *Benedictine Martyrology*, gives the following account of him : S. Blathmacus Hiber-

¹ Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. xv., edit. 1862, where his chief writings are described by Reuss. See also Cave, *Hist. Lit.*, i. 533.

nus Regis Hiberniæ filius relicto patre secessit in quoddam monasterium in quo abbas creatus est. Ei a Deo futura dicere concessum. Martyrii cupidus fugit e monasterio cum non paucis monachis ; sed inde rediit. Secundo motus intus a Spiritu Sancto venit in Jonam insulam Pictorum ad cœnobium S. Columbæ ; et cum præsentiret Danorum adventum, monachos si qui fugere vellent admonuit. Nonnulli remanserunt, qui cum sancto viro fuerunt trucidati : ad quorum sepulchra facta sunt innumera miracula. Walfridus Strabo Vitam et Martyrium S. Blathmaci versibus scripsit, quæ extant apud Henricum Canisium tom. 6. Antiquæ Lectiones. Videtur autem hoc Martyrium contigisse circa annum 793. According to the Irish authorities, for which see Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, p. 129, the father of Blaithmaic was the Irish king Flannius ; but as, according to the same authorities, St. Blaithmaic was slain in 823, and Flannius did not begin to reign till the year 876, and died in 914, Colgan is of opinion that his date is too late to allow of his being the father of the Saint. Dr. Forbes, on the other hand, calls Blaithmaic the son of Flann. Blaithmaic was a name of common occurrence, and is derived from *blath*, a flower. Hence the Latinized name of the saint is Florigenius or Florus. In the Irish Calendar his day is July 24, but abroad it is celebrated on the 19th of January.



VITÆ ANTIQUÆ
SANCTORUM

QUI HABITAUERUNT IN EA PARTE BRITANNIÆ

NUNC VOCATA SCOTIA

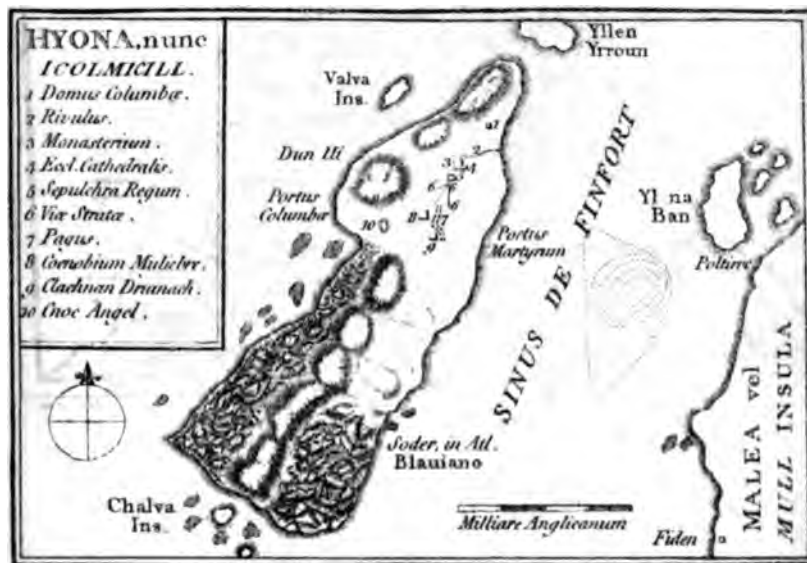
VEL IN EJUS INSULIS.

QUASDAM EDIDIT EX MSS. QUASDAM COLLEGIT

JOHANNES PINKERTON

QUI ET VARIANTES LECTIONES ET NOTAS

PAUCULAS ADJECIT.



LONDINI
TYPIS JOHANNIS NICHOLS.

1789.

LECTORI EDITOR.

VITÆ SANCTORUM, in regionibus reformatam religionem profitentibus, plerumque ab elegantioribus despiciuntur ; raroque etiam in conspectum doctiorum veniunt. Nec mirum, si miracula absurda et incredibilia perpendamus, quibus scatent frequenter illiusmodi scripta. Attamen, sicut ex stercore aurum, haud parum frugis e gerris istis, illi qui historiam, geographiam, mores, medii ut vocatur ævi, illustrare conatur, colligitur. Hinc clarissimi viri Duchenius, Fouquetus, in Gallia ; Muratorius in Italia ; Langebekus in Dania ; multique alii peritissimi ; vitas antiquas sanctorum, in collectionibus historicis vel integras dederunt, vel excerptas. Montesquius quoque, et noster Gibbonus, viri maximi ingenii, vitas illas laudavere ; et haud pauca, ad historiam utilissima, non nisi ex illis fontibus hauriri posse fatentur. Nam si miracula falsissima concedamus, haudquaquam sequitur cætera ad historiam, geographiam, moresque, pertinentia, nullius esse fidei ; cum et Livius plenus sit miraculorum vel prodigiorum, et miracula Vespasiani apud Tacitum notissima. Autores antiqui ejusmodi vitarum certissime historiam, geographiam, moresque, ut tunc erant et noscebantur, fideliter declarant. Nec cuidam illorum in mentem venire potuit, fidem suam apud contemporaneos frustrare, ea narrando in historicis, geographicis, &c., quæ ab omnibus falsa esse dignoscebantur. Miracula credere fidei et religionis erat ; sed cætera supponere, cui bono fuisset, nisi fidem miraculorum, devotionemque erga sanctum, derogare ? De his satis ; nam nullus ex filiis doctorum, utriusque religionis reformatæ vel papisticæ, vitas hujusmodi maximæ esse utilitatis, in rebus medii ævi, negavit unquam, vel negabit.

In historia igitur medii ævi, vel Italiæ, vel Galliæ, vel Germaniæ, regionum scriptoribus historicis abundantium, si tales

vitæ utiles concedantur ; in historia borealis partis Britanniae, nunc, sicuti ab A.D. 1020, sub Scotiæ nomine latentis, maximæ utilitatis sunt. Nam omnibus Europæ regionibus cedit in re antiqua historica, utique nullum habens vel brevissimum chronicon usque ad Cent. xi. cum Chronicon Pictorum scriptum fuit ; nullumque historicum ante Fordunum, qui scripsit circa A.D. 1385. Hinc reliquiæ illæ historicæ, quæ in vitis sanctorum antiquis, præsertim in duobus vitis Columbæ, Pictorum Septentrionalium A.D. 565, apostoli, priore a Cuminio circa A.D. 657, secunda ab Adomnano circa A.D. 680 conscripta, devotione aliqua antiquaria coli merentur.

In vitis sanctorum Scotiæ Hodiernæ, (nam Scotia Antiqua, et usque ad A.D. cir. 1020, Hibernia fuit, insula illa sanctorum,) colligendis, nulla fides Boethio vel Dempstero, debita fuit. Keithus, in Catalogo Episcoporum Scotiæ, seriem dedit sanctorum Scotiæ, ex illis nugatoribus redactam, in qua sancti Hiberniæ, Walliæ, etiamque Angliæ, pro sanctis Scotiæ Hodiernæ venundantur. Sancti Scotiæ Hodiernæ revera paucissimi fuere, sicut in regione remotissima, et pauperrima ; et quanquam omnium vitas hic reperiri neutiquam persuasus sum, tamen omnes quæ extant me collegisse pro certo scio, post inquisitiones inter omnes præcipuas Europæ bibliothecas. Fuere proculdubio quidam, quorum vitæ non sunt perscriptæ ; sed eos esse paucissimos, et obscuræ notæ, satis convincor. Picti, præcipuus longe populus Hodiernæ Scotiæ, Christianæ fidei, uti Scandinavica propago, sero dediti fuere, quanquam reges a Cent. vi. Christianismum amplectebantur : et nullus sanctus Picticus memoratur. Sancti inter Pictos fuere Britanni, vel Hiberni ; præcipue posteriores, qui ex Hyona insula, seminario Hibernico, et ecclesia metropolitana Pictiniæ, ad ecclesias inter Pictos demittebantur ; et Culdeorum nomine satis innotescunt.

Vitæ, quæ hic in manus lectoris traduntur, sunt sequentes.

1. Niniani, ex codice MS. in Bib. Bodleiana Oxonii, Laud F. xv. cent. xii. [hodie Laud 668, fol. 79-89 sæc. xii.] Dies Niniani est 16 Septembris.
2. Columbæ, a Cuminio, ex Mabillonii Sæculis Benedictinis.
3. Ejusdem, ab Adomnano. Vita hæc celeberrima extat in

Canisii Lect. Ant.; Surii Vitis Sanct., Mabillon Sæc. Ben.; in Triade Sanctorum Hiberniæ, Stephani Vici;³ in Florilegio Messinghami; in Vitis [et Sententiis] Patrum Occidentis Benedicti Gononi,⁴ Lugduni 1925 fol. p. 420. Amplior, et emendatior, in Actis Sanctorum Bollandianis, Antv. 1643—1786 50 tom. fol. Tomo II., Mensis Junii, p. 197, an. 1698, edito, cum notis Francisci Baertii.⁵ Et hic omnium amplissima, et integerrima, ita ut de novo edita videretur, ex MS. in Bibl. Reg. Mus. Brit. Cent. xii. [xv.] 8 D. ix. [ff. 1-70] Dies Columbæ 9 Junii. Scripsit etiam Adomnanus libros tres De Locis Terræ Sanctæ, descriptionem Judeæ ut tunc erat præferentes; abbreviatos a Beda in Hist. Eccl. Angl. et editos a Gretsero, Ingolstadii 1619, 4to. Prologus ad lib. iii., extat apud Labbe, Bibl. nova MSS. Tom. I., p. 667.

4. Kentegerni, ex codice MS. Cent. xiii., in Bibl. Cotton. Vitell. C. viii. [ff. 148-195], nunc primum edita.⁶ Dies Kentegerni 13 Januarii.

5. Margaretæ Scotorum Reginæ ex Actis Sanctorum Bollandianis, Mensis Junii Tom. II. Dies Margaretæ 10 Junii: male nam debet esse dies mortis, 16 Novembris; quamquam dies translationis sanctorum sæpe observatur.

6. Ejusdem alia vita, abbreviata ex priore, apud Surium in Vitis Sanctorum.

7. Magni Orcadum Comitis, ex Orkneyinga Saga, Hafniæ 1780, 4to.

8. Davidis Regis Scotorum ex MS. Cod. Cotton. Vesp. B. xi., nam ea quæ in X. Script. Twysdeni reperitur, duas tertias partes prorsus omittit, libertate nimia editoris.

Demum in Appendice damus Vitam Blaithmaci, A.D. 825 in

¹ June 9, pp. 144-161.

² Mabillon printed no part of Adamnan's work on St. Columba.

³ John Colgan and not "Stephanus Vicus" was the author of the *Trias*.

⁴ Gonon printed only a short abstract, "ex illa proluxa [Vita] quam scripsit Adamnus."

⁵ Francis Baert was not *the* editor of the second June volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*, but one of the four by whom it was prepared.

⁶ See the Preface and Introduction to the present edition.

Hyona cæsi, a Walafrido Strabone, ejus contemporaneo, metrice scriptam.

Solus Sanctus Scotiæ Hodiernæ cujus vitam, quanquam certissime scriptam, non reperi, est Wallenus¹; de quo Visch in Bibliotheca Ordinis Cisterciensis sequentia habet:

“Joscelinus, Furnesii in Anglia ordinis Cisterc. monachus scripsit insignem historiam de vita et miraculis Beati Walleni, Abbatis Melrosensis in Scotia, duobus libris distinctam; quam dedicavit Willelmo Regi Scotiæ, et Alexandro filio ejus, ac Comiti David, in ipsi Walleno sanguine junctis. Testatur autem, in prologo ad dictam historiam, se hanc scripsisse jussu Patricii, Melrosensis Abbatis; nihilque posuisse quod non hauserit ab illis qui viderunt. Chrysostomus Henriquez ejusdem Walleni vitam aliam haberi manuscriptam asserit in Rubea Valle, Brabantiae monasterio, conscriptam per Antonium Gentium, quam ipse transcripserit in Fasciculo suo, lib. ii., dist. 26., cap. 58. Sed vitam hanc nihil aliud esse quam compendium historiæ Joscelini recte annotavit illustrissimus Manriquez Tomo II. Annalium Cisterciensium, ad annum 1160, cap. iv., n. 7, qui dictam Jocelini historiam apud se habet MS. eamque sparsim annalibus suis inseruit.”²

In vita Edithæ, virginis Anglæ, Edgari Regis filiæ, anno cir. 987 mortuæ, apud Surium sub die 16 Septembris, hæc habentur de quodam Sancto Juvio,³ cujus nec nomen quidem alicubi reperi. “Clerici Pictorum in capsâ circumferebant sanctum confessorem Juvium; atque in sanctæ virginis cœnobio [apud Wintoniam] honorifice suscepti, in altari beatæ Edithæ sacras reliquias deposuerunt. Cumque inde recedere vellent, tanto pondere reliquiæ illæ altari inhæsere, ut nulla ratione possent amoveri. Plorant igitur advenæ, ejulant, vestes scindunt, capillos vellicant. Tandem re desperata, receptis duobus

¹ Extat tamen maxima ex parte apud Fordunum, lib. vi. capp. 1—35, ubi tamen Walthesus appellatur, male apud Keithum in Cat. Episc. Walterus.

² Visch. Bibl. Ord. Cisterc. Col. Ag. 1656, 4to, p. 224.

³ Forsan Iwius vel Ywius, S. Cuthberti discipulus, cujus memoria etiam apud Northanymbroſ colebatur. Mortuus est circa A.D. 704. *Rosweyde Fasti Sanctorum* Oct. 6. Vide *The English Martyrology*, 1608, 8vo, p. 271.

millibus solidorum a Wulfrude⁴ Abbatissa, in sua tristes abiere.”
Hæc vita Edithæ postremo meminit Aldredi Eboracensis
Archiepiscopi, qui an. 1060 successit ; et circa id tempus
scripta videtur.

Cæterum lectorem benevolum iterum atque iterum rogat
editor ut latinitati suæ condonet. Nam, quanquam juvenis
plura latine scripsit, tamen multis abhinc annis Anglice tantum
scribere solitus est, et desuetudo imperitiam generat. In
edendis scriptis barbaris medii ævi, haud opus fuit mehercule
Gratiis sacra fieri ; sed potius,

ut pes et caput uni
Reddantur formæ,

genus dictionis textui accommodatum exigebatur.

⁴ Vulfrude, so surius.

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VITÆ ANTIQUÆ SANCTORUM SCOTIÆ.

VITA NINIANI

AUCTORE AILREDO REVALLENSI.

VITÆ ANTIQUÆ SANCTORUM SCOTIÆ.

VITA NINIANI.¹

PROLOGUS.

MULTIS virorum sapientium qui fuerunt ante nos studio fuit sanctorum vitam mores verba, eorum dumtaxat qui suis claruere temporibus, literis dare, et ad posteritatis ædificationem vitæ perfectioris exemplum oblivioni subducere et perpetuare memoria. Verum hi, quibus erant præclara ingenia et copia dicendi splendorque eloquentiæ, tanto id utilius executi sunt quanto venustiori sermone aures audientium permulcebant. Hi vero quibus ob barbariem natalis soli ornate artificioseque loquendi facultas defuit, eorum qui essent imitandi notitia simpliciori licet stilo posteros non fraudabant. Hinc est quod vitam sanctissimi Niniani, quam morum sanctitas et miracula clara commendant, sermo barbaricus obscurabat, et quo minus delectabat legentem eo minus ædificabat. Placuit perinde sanctæ delectioni vestræ meæ parvitati id oneris inponere, ut clarissimi viri vitam, veraci quidem sed nimis barbarico a prioribus exaratam stilo, a sermone rustico quasi a quibusdam tenebris eruens in lucem Latinæ locutionis educam. Amplector devotionem, desiderium approbo, laudo emulationem. Sed scio imperitiam meam, vereorque ne eum vilioribus in quibus hactenus latitabat pannis expoliam, nec alios in quibus ornatior appareat adhibere sufficiam. Verum, quia negare non possum quicquid injungitis, experiar quæ jubetis, malens a vobis imperitior quam obstinator judicari. Forte enim quod imperitia negat, fides vestra prestat, impetrabit oratio, sanctitas obtinebit. Aderit

¹ The MS. in the British Museum (Cott. Tib., D. iii., fol. 186-192, sec. xiii.) has at the beginning the following rubric: "Incipit vita Sancti Niniani episcopi et confessoris ab Aelredo Rieuallense abbate de Anglico in Latinum translata."

et ipse piis votis vestris, aderit desideriis, aderit et conatui nostro, aderit et studio, pro cuius honore et amore id a me fieri postulatis : cuius insuper meritis linguam meam eruditam et loquendi copiam dari posse confiditis. Huc accedit quod sanctæ ecclesiæ vestræ clerum et populum, qui circa sanctum Dei sub cuius patrocínio vivunt miro tenentur affectu, summa cum devotione quicquid scripserimus dicitis suscepturos, quippe cum omnium vota me potissimum ut asseritis in hoc opus elegerint. Suscipio itaque onus quod imponitis, vestris quidem coactus precibus, sed fide animatus. Dabo autem operam, quantum adjuvare dignatur ille qui linguas infantium facit disertas, ita stilum temperare meum, ut, et tantam materiam non obscuret nimium adversanda rusticitas, nec simplicitatem eorum qui rhetoricæ profusionis ignari sunt desiderato hujus laboris fructu defraudet non tam diserta quam molesta loquacitas. Aspiret ergo cœptis gratia Salvatoris, et qui illi virtutes contulit quibus æterna dignus esset memoria, nos dignos qui eas scribamur efficiat, illamque nobis laboris hujus mercedem retribuat, ut in hac via per quam festinamus ad patriam ejus nos semper comitetur oratio. Et in ipso exitu, quo viæ finem vitæque præstolamur initium, præsto sit nobis ejus consolatio et sanctis meritis ejus æterna cœlestium bonorum remuneratio.

PRÆFATIO.

Testimonium Bedæ de Niniano cum observationibus Ailredi.

GLORIOSAM sanctissimi Niniani vitam divina nobis commendat auctoritas, quæ sanctum patriarcham Abraham, patrem multarum gentium, et fidei principem ante tempora sæcularia prædestinatum, tali primum probatur instituisse oraculo : Egredere de terra tua, et de cognatione tua, et de domo patris tui ; et vade in terram quam monstravero tibi, et faciam te in gentem magnam.¹ Ita beatissimus Ninianus, relicta patria, domoque patris, didicit in terra aliena,² quod post doceret in propria ; constitutus a Domino super gentes et regna, evellere et

¹ Gen. xii. 1-2.

² See chapter 2.

destruere, plantare et ædificare.³ Hujus beatissimi viri, et conversationis sacra primordia, et sanctitatis insignia, dignitatem officii, et fructum ministerii, finem optimum, et laboris præmium, venerabilis Beda in Ecclesiastica Hystoria gentis suæ, paucissimis commendans verbis, ita de eo scribit: Anno ab incarnatione Domini quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto, quo tempore gubernaculum Romani Imperii, post Justinianum Justinus minor accepit, venit de Hybernia presbiter et abbas, habitu et vita monachi insignis, nomine Columba, Britanniam; prædicaturus verbum Dei provinciis septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc est, eis qui arduis atque horrentibus montium jugis, ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestratæ. Namque ipsi australes Picti, qui inter eosdem montes habant sedes, multo ante tempore relicto errore idolatriæ, fidem veritatis acceperant, prædicante eis verbum Niniano Episcopo reverentissimo, et sanctissimo viro, de natione Bretonum, qui erat Romæ regulariter fidem et misteria veritatis edoctus. Cujus sedem episcopatus sancti Martini Episcopi nomine, et ecclesiam insignem, ubi ipse etiam corpore una cum pluribus sanctis requiescit, jam nunc Anglorum gens obtinet. Qui locus ad provinciam Berniciorum pertinens vulgo vocatur Ad Candidam Casam: eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Bretonibus more, fecerit. Hic quod Beda breviter scripsit latius Deo Auctore prosequi placet.

Tanti itaque viri fideli testimonio didicimus viri hujus principia, qui eum de gente Bretonum oriundum, regulis fidei in sancta Romana ecclesia astruit institutum. Didicimus et officium, qui eum episcopum et verbi Dei prædicatorem fuisse commendat. Didicimus et fructum laboris, qui australes Pictos ejus industria ab idolatria ad veram fidem probat esse conversos. Didicimus et finem, qui eum in sancti Martini ecclesia una cum pluribus sanctis requiescere protestatur. Verum quod ipse breviter, prout hystoriæ suæ tenor postulare videbatur, tantum tetigisse videtur, nobis liber de Vita et Miraculis ejus, barbario scriptus, latius exequendum proponit. Qui quidem liber, a testimonii illius fundamento nusquam devians, modum tantum quo talia initia arripuit, quo talem fructum promeruit, quo tam laudabilem finem obtinuit, hystorico more conscribit.

³ Jer. i. 10.

CAPUT I.

Natales Niniani, et educatio.

IN insula igitur quæ quondam a Bruto, ut dicitur,¹ Britannię nomen accepit, in ipsius, nominis gente, haut ignobili familia, beatus Ninianus² extitit oriundus; in ea, ut putatur,³ regione, quæ in occiduis ipsius insulæ partibus, ubi oceanus quasi brachium porrigens, et ex utraque parte quasi quos angulos faciens, Scotorum nunc et Anglorum regna dividit constituta, usque novissima ad Anglorum tempora proprium habuisse regem, non solum hystoriarum fide, sed et quorundam quoque memoria comprobatur. Pater ejus rex⁴ fuit, religione Christianus; talis apud Deum fidei, talis meriti, ut tali prole dignus haberetur, per quam ea quæ gentis suæ fidei deerant supplerentur, et alterius gentis natio quæ fidei sacramenta non noverat, sacræ religionis imbueretur misteriiis. Hic in ipsa infantia, sacrosancti baptismatis unda renatus, vestem nuptialem⁵ quam

¹ For this legend the reader may consult Fordun, Boece, Wyntown, Bellenden, etc.

² The Saint's name occurs in different forms. Bede names him Nynia; Alcuin, Nynia, Nyniga, Ninia. In Ireland he was called Monenn, i.e., "My Nenn," or "My Ninian." Barbour calls him Ninian and Niniane. He is popularly known in Scotland as St. Ringan, or Ringen, and in the North of England as St. Trinyon, St. Triman. "Seynt Truyons in Scotlande" also occurs (Will of R. Ardean, Oct. 22, 1540).

³ Ailred simply gives the tradition, and appears to have had some doubt as to its correctness. If the tradition may be trusted, Ninian was born somewhere on the coast of the Solway Firth, in what almost down to the time of Ailred was the Kingdom of Cumbria.

⁴ Probably a petty chief. In the Lives of the Saints titles are bestowed very liberally. Porphyry speaks of Britain as "fertilis provincia tyrannorum;" ap. Hieronym. ad Ctesiph. adv. Pelag. xliii. Camerarius (De fortitud. Scot., p. 173. Paris, 1631), says, "Natus est parentibus juxta sæculi dignitatem nobilibus."

⁵ Called by Barbour "cud clath," and in Middle English a "chrisom-cloth." Its character and significance are aptly described in the following passage: "Last of al the barne that is baptizit, is cled with ane quhite lynning claiith callit ane Cude, quhilk betakins that he is clene weschin fra all his synnis, that he is brocht

candidatus suscepit immaculatam conservans, victor vitiorum, Christi, eam conspectibus præsentavit ; ac Spiritum Sanctum quem primum habuit mundatorem, sanctissimis moribus sui sacri pectoris habere meruit illustratorem. Ipsius namque magisterio quod contrarium religioni, quod castitati adversum, quod bonis contrarium moribus, quod legibus veritatis dissonum, adhuc puer, sed non sensu puerili, exhorruit. Quod vero legis erat, quod gratiæ, quod honestatis, quod utile proximo, quod gratum Deo, senili jam mente excolere non cessavit. Felix cujus voluntas fuit in lege Domini die ac nocte, qui tanquam lignum quod plantatur secus decursus aquarum fructum dedit in tempore suo,⁶ cum in ætate virili strenue inpleret quod summa cum devotione didicerat. Mira illi circa ecclesias devotio, mira circa socios dilectio. In cibo sobrius, parcus in verbis, in lectione assiduus, gratus moribus, joci abstinens, et spiritui semper carnem subiciens. Igitur in scripturis sacris intendens animum, cum a peritioribus quibusque gentis suæ viris, fidei regulas eorum more didicisset ; intellexit adholenscens sagacis ingenii secundum sensum, quem inspiratione divina ex scripturis ipse conceperat, multa illis ad perfectionem deesse. Hinc fluctuare animo cœpit, seque infra perfectum non sustinens, æstuabat, suspirabat ; concaluit insuper cor ejus intra eum, et in meditatione ejus exarsit ignis.⁷ Et quid, inquit, faciam ? In terra mea quæsiui quem diligit anima mea, et non inveni. Surgam, circuibo mare et aridam, quæram veritatem quam diligit anima mea.⁸ Itane tantis opus est ? Nonne Petro dictum est, tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam ?⁹ Igitur in fide Petri nichil minus est, nichil obscurum, nichil imperfectum, nichil adversum quod doctrina nequam sententiæque perversæ, quasi portæ inferi, prævalere sufficiant. Et ubi fides Petri

to the libertie of the haly spreit, that he suld lyve ane innocent lyfe all the dais of his lyfe, aye quhil he cum to the jugement seit of our salviour." Archbp. Hamilton's Catechism, p. 192. Oxford Edit.

⁶ Ps., i. 3.

⁷ Ps., xxxix. 4.

⁸ Cant., iii. 1.

⁹ Matt., xvi. 18.

nisi in sede Petri? Illuc certe, illuc mihi eundem est; ut exiens de terra mea, et de cognatione mea, et de domo patris mei; merear in terra visionis videre voluntatem Domini, et protegi a templo ejus.¹⁰ Arridet sæculi malefida prosperitas, alludit mundi vanitas, blanditur cognationis affectio, deterret labor et carnis afflictio. Set qui diligit patrem aut matrem plusquam me, ait Dominus, non est me dignus. Et qui non bajulat crucem suam, et sequitur me, non est me dignus.¹¹ Didici etiam quod contempnentes aulam regiam pervenerint ad regna cælestia. Itaque Sancti Spiritus instinctu animatus; spretis divitiis, omnibusque calcatis affectionibus, peregrinationem nobilis adolescens arripuit. Transiensque Britannicum mare, et per Gallicanas Alpes¹² ingressus Italiam, prospero itinere ad Urbem usque pervenit.¹³

¹⁰ Ps., xxvii. 4.

¹¹ Luke, ix. 23.

¹² The date at which this event took place is unknown. A.D. 370, when Damasus was Pope, has been mentioned, but it is mere conjecture. According to Varro there were five roads over the Alps into Italy; by the Corniche, Mont Cenis, Mont Genève, the Great St. Bernard, and the Little St. Bernard; but which of them St. Ninian followed is not known. Nor is it known at what season of the year he made his journey. Ammianus Marcellinus, who lived about the same time, gives the following graphic description of the perils attending the passage of the Alps: "In these Cottian Alps which begin at the town of Susa, a vast ridge rises up, which is scarcely passable by any one without danger. On the Italian side it descends with a steepness almost precipitous, and is terrible to behold on account of the vast rocks which overhang the way on either side. Especially great is the danger in the time of spring, when the ice is melting and the snows are being dissolved beneath the warm breath of the winds. Those who attempt to descend then, be it ever so cautiously, men, beasts, and wagons are apt to fall into the chasms and clefts which are hidden by the frost. The only remedy found for avoiding destruction is to bind several wagons together with strong ropes, and then to have men and oxen hanging on behind, keeping them back with great effort, and so allowing them to gradually slide down backwards with a certain degree of safety. These things, as we have said, happen in the spring of the year. But in winter the ground being covered over with a thin crust of ice, and therefore slippery, the traveller is often plunged headlong; and the valleys which here and there open into wide plains covered with treacherous ice, often devour those who endeavour to cross them. On account of this those who are acquainted with the country fix projecting poles along the safer places, in order that a series of them may lead the traveller to his destination unhurt; but if the poles get covered with snow and hidden, or are thrown down

CAPUT II.

Advenit Romam. Episcopus ordinatur a Pontifice. Conversatio cum Sancto Martino. Reditus in patriam.

VENIENS Romam adolescens beatissimus, cum ante sacras Apostolorum reliquias¹ devotionis suæ obsides lacrimas dimisisset, ipsorumque patrocinio desiderium suum multis orationibus commendasset; accedens ad summæ sedis præsulem, cum ei itineris sui causam exposuisset, amplexatus ejus devotionem Pontifex, loco eum filii summa cum devotione suscepit. Moxque doctoribus veritatis, fidei disciplinis, ac sanis scripturæ sensibus,

by the torrents descending the mountains, it is difficult for any one to pass even with the natives of the district for his guides. On the summit of this mountain there is a plain seven miles in extent, reaching as far as the station known by the name of Mars, and beyond that there is another mountain, still more steep and almost insurmountable, which stretches on to the summit of the Mons Matróna, so named from an event that happened there to a noble lady. From this point a path which, though steep is easily passable, leads to the fortress of Virgántia." Bk. xv., c. 10. Another danger St. Ninian had to encounter in his journey arose from the sovereign of Gaul and his ministers claiming the right to arrest any traveller to whose reasons for passing through their country they might conceive an objection.

¹³ The practice of making pilgrimages to places consecrated by religious associations seems to have sprung up during the fourth century, though, according to Paula and Eustochium, writing in 386, there had been a constant stream of pilgrims to Jerusalem from the earliest period of the Christian Church. Helen, the mother of Constantine, who is the first pilgrim of whose visit there is anything like a detailed narrative, set out for the Holy Land about the year 328; five years later a traveller whose name is unknown, but who was evidently a pilgrim, journeyed from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, and returned by a different route. Cf. Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, ii., 1635. Rome also soon became a centre of attraction, and was much favoured in the British Isles. St. Ninian's visit is one of the earliest recorded. For later ones cf. Mayor and Lumby's *Bede Ecc. Hist.*, iii., iv., pp. 309 and 363; also Colgan, *Act. SS. Hib.*, p. 900.

¹ The story of the discovery and disposition of these relics is minutely and graphically told by Barbour in his *Legend of St. Paul*, ll. 343-444. See also the *Legenda Aurea* (Ed. Graesse), cap. xc., Vincentius Bellovacensis *Speculum Historiale*, x. 87, and Rosweyde's *Ado's Martyrologium*, p. 306.

tradidit imbuendum.² Animadvertit autem adolescens Deo plenus se non frustra vel in vacuum laborasse: intelligens nimirum ab imperitis doctoribus multa sane doctrinæ adversa sibi, suisque compatriotis, fuisse persuasa. Tota deinde aviditate inhyans verbo Dei, instar apis, argumentose ex diversis doctorum sententiis, quasi ex multi generis floribus, sapientiæ sibi favos composuit. Atque in alveolo sui pectoris recondens; ad interioris hominis sui refectionem, aliorumque multorum consolationem, ruminandos proferendosque servavit. Digna sane recompensatio, ut qui amore veritatis patriam, divitias deliciasque, contempserat, in ipsa, ut ita dicam, veritatis penetralia inductus, et ad ipsos sapientiæ et scientiæ thesauros admissus; pro carnalibus spiritalia, pro terrenis cœlestia, pro tempora[li]bus æterna bona, perciperet. Interea dum castus corpore, animo prudens, in consiliis providus, in omni actu verboque circumspectus, ab omnibus prædicaretur; accidit ut ad ipsius summi pontificis gratiam, familiaritatemque conscenderet.

Pluribus igitur annis in Urbe laudabiliter conversatus, et in sacris scripturis sufficienter eruditus, ad virtutum summam provehitur; et pennis caritatis subvectus, ad cœlestia contemplanda sustollitur. Audiens deinde pontifex Romanus quosdam, in occiduis Britannicæ partibus, necdum Salvatoris nostri suscepisse fidem, quosdam vel ab hæreticis, vel a lege Dei parum scientibus, verbum Evangelii audisse; tactus spiritu Dei prædictum Dei virum ad episcopatus gradum propriis manibus consecravat; et promisse genti, data benedictione, apostolum destinavit.

Floruit tunc temporis beatissimus Martinus,³ Turonicæ

² During the time of St. Augustine the schools of Rome were in high repute. In his *Confessions*, Bk. v., c. 8, he says that his chief and almost only reason for going to Rome was that "he heard that young men studied there more peacefully, and were kept quiet under a restraint of more regular discipline; so that they did not, at their pleasure, petulantly rush into the schools of one whose pupils they were not, nor were even admitted without his permission." Afterwards, however (c. 12), he complains that the discipline was far from what he had been led to expect. Whether the reputation of the schools was sufficiently great to furnish St. Ninian with the sole or principal motive for his journey may be doubted. The probability is he was actuated chiefly by the desire to perform the "peregrinatio ad Romam."

³ St. Martin was born of pagan parents at Sabaria in that part of Pannonia which is now identified with Lower Hungary, about the year 316; was educated at Pavia,

civitatis Episcopus, cujus vita miraculis gloriosa jam ab eruditissimo viro sancto Sulpicio descripta,⁴ totum illustraverat orbem. Redens itaque ab Urbe vir Dei Spiritu plenus, tactus desiderio videndi eum, ad civitatem Turonicam iter divertit. Quo gaudio, qua devotione, quo affectu, ab eo susceptus sit, quis facile dixerit? Ex gratia quippe prophetici luminis, novi eum pontificis virtus non latuit. Quem sanctificatum a Spiritu, et multorum saluti profuturum, Deo revelante cognovit. Junguntur in tabernaculo Domini columnæ, altera ad alteram, duoque cherubin expandentes alas suas tangunt se mutuo, et nunc pennis virtutum subvecti excedunt Deo : nunc stantes, et dimit-

where his father, a military tribune, was stationed ; enrolled himself, contrary to the wishes of his parents, as a catechumen at the age of ten ; entered the army, in consequence of an imperial edict when about fifteen, and quitted it when he was eighteen. Afterwards, in 336, he visited Hilary of Poitiers, who wished to appoint him a deacon, an office which he declined, but accepted the more lowly office of exorcist. From Gaul he returned to Pannonia, after being captured on his way by robbers, and succeeded in converting his mother and many others to the Christian Faith and in winning many over from Arianism. Being publicly scourged and compelled to depart he sought refuge in Milan, but being driven away from that city by Auxentius, its bishop, he returned soon afterwards to Hilary and settled some five miles from Poitiers at Locociagum (now Lugugé), where, upon a site given to him by Hilary, he built what is generally regarded as the earliest monastic institution in Gaul. This was about the year 360, and such was his reputation that eleven years afterwards he was unanimously elected bishop of Tours, an office which he held with great distinction up to the day of his death, probably in 397, on November 11, a date well known throughout Scotland as the term day Martinmas. Of all the prelates of the period he has left the deepest impression on France, and on the greatest part of Christendom. His influence was almost as great as that exercised at a later period by St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Many miracles are said to have been wrought by him and at his tomb. About the close of the Tenth Century he became the patron Saint of Norway.

⁴ Sulpicius Severus or Severus Sulpicius was descended from a noble family of Aquitaine. He was born soon after the year 353, and died probably between 406 and 429. Though called *Saint Sulpicius*, he was never canonized. An advocate by profession, about the year 392, notwithstanding his popularity and prospects which were unusually great, he withdrew from the world and spent the remainder of his life in ascetic seclusion and literary activity, varied by an occasional visit to St. Martin. His works consist of the *Historia Sacra* or *Chronica*, the *Vita S. Martini*, the *Dialogi*, and a number of Epistles. His *Vita S. Martini* was first printed by Aldus Manutius in 1501. There are also two versified biographies of St. Martin ; one by Venantius Fortunatus, and another by Paulinus, both of which are based upon the writings of Sulpicius.

tentes alas, fiunt sobrii proximo. De superioribus igitur ad hæc inferiora regressi, beatus Ninianus a sancto cementarios⁵ sibi dari postulavit, propositum sibi esse asserens, sicut sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ fidem, ita et mores in construendis ecclesiis, ecclesiasticisque officiis constituendis, imitari. Annuit votis vir beatissimus. Et sic, mutuis colloquiis quasi cœlestibus epulis saginati; post amplexus, et oscula, et lacrimas invicem fusas, Sanctus Martinus in propria sede resedit. Ninianus in opus quo fuerat dimissus a Spiritu, duce Christo, festinavit. Quo in patria recepto, fit magnus populorum concursus, et occursum, ingens cunctis lætitia, mira devotio, laus ubique resonat Christi; quoniam sicut prophetam eum habebant. Mox strenuus agricola Domini sui agrum ingressus, cœpit male plantata evelere, male collecta dispergere, male ædificata destruere. Pur-gatis deinde ab omni errore fidelium mentibus, cœpit in eis sin-ceræ fidei jacere fundamenta; superædificans aurum sapientiæ, et scientiæ argentum, bonorumque operum lapides; quæ omnia fidelibus agenda, et verbo docuit, et exemplo monstravit, multis etiam et magnis miraculis confirmavit.

⁵ **Masons.** At the time these as well as other artificers were scarce even in England. As late as the last quarter of the Seventh Century, Benedict Biscop Abbot of Wearmouth, according to Bede, *Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth*, p. 299 (Cantab.), "crossed the sea into Gaul, and no sooner asked than obtained and carried back with him masons to build him a stone church in the Roman manner, which he had always admired." The artists who glazed the windows were also brought from France. Cuthbert writing to Lullus, the successor of St. Boniface in the See of Mainz, asks him to send him any skilled worker in glass, with whom he may be acquainted, whether within or without his diocese. (Bonif. *Ep.* 134, Jaffé). The masons whom St. Ninian brought with him, would in all probability speak a Celtic dialect, and it is probable that they would not have much difficulty either in making themselves understood by the natives to whom St. Ninian ministered, or in understanding them. According to Barbour there were only two of them.

"But sancte Niniane, or he can ga,
Askit at Martyne masonis twa
That he hyme grantit but delay."

CAPUT III.

Fundatio ecclesiæ de Whithorn.

ELEGIT autem sibi sedem in loco qui nunc Witerna¹ dicitur; qui locus super litus oceani situs, dum se ipsum mare longius porrigit ab oriente, occidente, atque meridie, ipso pelago clauditur; a parte tantum aquilonali, via ingredi volentibus aperitur. Ibi igitur jussu viri Dei cementarii, quos secum adduxerat, ecclesiam² construunt; antequam nullam in Bri-

¹ Whithorn in Wigtonshire.

² Its exact site is disputed. Two places are claimed for it; one where the ruins of the Priory in the town of Whithorn stand; the other about two miles southward at the port called the Isle of Whithorn, where are the ruins of a small chapel. Ailred's words afford no clue as to which of these was the site. Tradition is in favour of the latter. In his *Large Description of Galloway*, p. 49, Andrew Symson, the minister of Kirkinner, speaking of the Isle, says: "Neer to this place, at the sea side, there is the ruines of an old chapel, called the Chapel of the Isle, which, as it is reported, was the first that was built for the service of Almighty God in this part of the kingdom; yea, as some say, in the whole kingdom." Mr. Muir, *The Lighthouse*, p. 34, while believing that the question can never be definitely settled, is inclined to think that the traditional site is the right one. Dr. Forbes, on the other hand, *Lives of SS. N. and K.*, pp. 268-271, believes that we "must conclude that the celebrated spot, where his body was visited by pilgrims for so many ages, the modern town of Whithorn, was the spot where he erected Candida Casa 'more Brittonibus insolito.'" The same opinion is expressed also in the *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 422. The reasons assigned for this opinion are (1) The ruins of the Chapel of the Isle of Whithorn belong to somewhere about the end of the thirteenth century; (2) It is not likely that "the Præmonstratensian monks would build this shabby little chapel as the record of the spot where the great saint actually ministered," and "impossible to suppose that the earnest votaries of the saint . . . would surround themselves with beauty at the place where they resided, while they spent so little care and money on the spot more actually associated with him"; (3) There is no record of a translation of the relics and no festival commemorative of it. Against these it may be observed; (1) That the fact of the existing ruins of the Chapel of the Isle being of the thirteenth century tells nothing whatever against their site being that of the church actually built by St. Ninian, no more than they would if they belonged to the eighteenth or nineteenth century. It is quite possible, and indeed probable that the church built by the Saint was replaced by a new one in that great age of ecclesiastical architecture. (2) There was no necessity compelling the Præmonstratensian

tannia de lapide dicunt esse constructam.³ Et quoniam jam sanctissimum Martinum, quem miro semper venerabatur

monks to build their Priory on the site of the primitive church ; and further, their chief aim would be to build a House to the memory of the Saint in the place most suitable for the work they had in hand. (3) The silence of tradition is not proof that a translation did not take place. On the other hand tradition is unmistakably in favour of the Isle. Barbour mentions both the church built by St. Ninian, and the procession held in his honour, but unfortunately nothing definite respecting the site of the former. His words respecting the latter are :

" And for he sa weile [her] wrocht
Of hymne God forsetful is nocht,
Bot his relykis menskis ay,
Quhare thai ar se(r)terit in Galouay.
The quhilk fertir mene beris ay
Of Witson owke the Twysday
Vith festiual processione
Til a chepal be-owt the tone
Nere the quartare of a myl,
And, as it thare has bene a quhile,
Hame to the Abbay thai it bere
Vith gret solempnyte and fere ;
Bot one it lais na man hand
Bot the maste vorthi of the land
That he lyne of successione
Beris it in processione."

The whole question is one of great difficulty and is probably insoluble.

3 "When the Saxons were converted to Christianity they were not masons ; they dwelt in wooden houses, and there can be no doubt that their churches were also usually of wood. This is confirmed by numerous passages in contemporary historians, and the frequent mention of the destruction of churches by fire." Parker's *Introd. to the Study of Gothic Archit.*, p. 9. According to Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, v. 17, when Bishop Aidan was sick "they set up a tent for him close to the wall at the west-end of the church, by which means it happened that he gave up the ghost leaning against a post that was on the outside to strengthen the wall." Some time afterwards Penda King of the Mercians, burnt down the adjoining village and the church, "but it fell out in a wonderful manner" says Bede, "that the post which Aidan had leant upon when he died, could not be consumed by the fire which consumed all about it." The same post was used in rebuilding the church, and when the structure was again burned down, the post was again miraculously preserved. Even as late as 1032, when King Canute gave his charter to Glastonbury Abbey, the church there was built of wood. Its walls, however, were covered on the outside with lead, and on the inside with plates of silver and gold. *Gloss. of Architect.*, p. 10, and *Chron. Petriburg.*, p. 3. As to the manner in which the Scotch and Irish churches were built, we have the following note in Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 25, where speaking of the church which St. Finan built in the island of Lindisfarne, he says : "Nevertheless, after the manner of the Scots he made it not of stone, but of hewn oak, and covered it with reeds." Eadbert, he adds, who was consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne, A.D. 668, took away the thatch and covered both the roof and the walls with lead. As an example of

affectu, a terris ad cœlos didiscerat transmigrasse,⁴ ipsam ecclesiam in ejus honore studuit dedicare.

CAPUT IV.

Regem Tuduvallum sanat, et convertit.

ITAQUE lucerna super candelabrum posita, cœpit his qui in domo Dei erant signis lucere cœlestibus, et radiantibus virtutum flammis, verbo Domini lucido et ignito mentes illuminare tenebrosas, et succendere frigidas. Fuit in regione eadem rex quidam (nam tota insula diversis regibus divisa subjacuit), Tuduvallus¹ nomine, quem divitiæ, potestas, et honor erexerant in superbiam; quoniam concupiscentia carnis, et concupiscentia oculorum, et divitiæ mundi,² elationis sunt et superbiæ incentivum; dum quantum quisque habet tantum se posse presumit, tantum sibi et licere confidit. Hic viri Dei monita con-

this mode of building Dr. Lingard, *Antiq. of the A.-S. Church*, pp. 479-480 (Edit. 1810), cites Greenstead Church in Essex as it was till recently. "The walls are formed of the trunks of oaks six feet high, sawed in half. Being cut away at the bottom into a tenon, they are inserted into a groove cut in a horizontal piece of timber, which serves as the base sustainment. A second horizontal square timber, by way of intabulation, grooved like the first, receives the ridges of the trunks, which stand with their sawed faces inwards, and within one inch of each other. At the gable end the trunks rise gradually pediment wise to the height of fourteen feet. The interstices between the trunks admitted the light; but we find from Rede (*Vid. Cuth.*, c. xlvi.,) that they were sometimes filled with straw: others nailed skins against them."

⁴ This event took place, not A.D. 412, the date given by Pinkerton, but somewhere between 397 and 401. The A.-S. Chronicle makes it so late as 440; Ussher, *Index Chron.*, vi. 562, makes it 401; Tillemont, *Ecc. Hist.*, x. 340, and Mr. F. Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, i. 513, A.D. 397. It is the nearest approach to a precise date in connection with St. Ninian.

¹ *Tudwal* seems to have been a well-known Strathclyde name. *Tethal* or *Tudwal*, surnamed *Tutglud* ("of the Clyde district") is mentioned by Adamnan as the father of King Roderic of Dumbarton, and is identified by some with the person mentioned here. Reeve's *Adamnan*,

² 1 John, ii. 16,

tempnens, et clam doctrinæ ejus et moribus ejus derogabat, et sanæ doctrinæ ejus in facie resistebat: ita ut terra videretur reproba et maledicto proxima, utpote quæ sæpe super se venientem bibens imbrem, spinas et tribulos, non herbam opportunam germinabat. Quodam autem tempore cum plus solito molestus esset viro Dei, non ultra passus Judex cœlestis servi sui inultam iri injuriam, intolerabili morbo superbum percussit in capite, confregitque verticem capilli perambulantis in delictis suis. Intantumque prævaluit ægritudo, ut elatos illos oculos cæcitas repentina obduceret; et qui lucem impugnaverat veritatis lucem amitteret carnis. Nec frustra neque ad insipientiam ei. Jacebat enim miser pressus dolore, privatus lumine, sed exterius obtenebratus, interius illustratur, dum rediens ad cor confitetur excessum, ab illo solo sperans remedium, cui se semper exhibuerat inimicum. Vocatis postremo necessariis amicis, accepto ab eis consilio, quoniam ipse detentus infirmitate ire non potuit, nuncios mittit ad virum Dei, obsecrans ut non intret in iudicium cum servo suo, nec retribuatur ei secundum opera sua; sed, ut imitator dominicæ benignitatis, retribuatur ei bona pro malis, et dilectionem pro odio. Audiens hæc vir beatissimus, non in gloriam est elatus humanam, sed ut semper misericordiæ visceribus affluens, præmissa ad Deum oratione, ad ægrotum cum summa humilitate et devotione perrexit. Et primum quidem leni increpatione virum corripit, deinde medica manu caput tangit ægroti, cæcisque luminibus signum vitæ salutaris inpressit.³ Quid plura? Fugit dolor, cæcitas luce superveniente fugatur. Sicque factum est, ut morbus corporis morbum mentis curaret, morbum vero corporis viri Dei virtus expelleret. In utroque igitur, corpore scilicet et mente, sanatus cœpit deinceps sanctum Dei omni affectu colere et venerari,

³ Similar instances of the power of the *crucis signum* are numerous. See Roswey's *Vita Patrum*. With the sign of the cross Dorotheus rendered poison harmless, 710 a; Eudoxia healed a paralytic who was also deaf and dumb, 358 a; Limnæus cured a woman of a deadly disease, 845 a; Pastor cured a boy who was afflicted by the devil, 650 b; Peter of Galatia cured the wife of the prefect of the East and the mother of Theoderet, 822 b, 823 a. Bede mentions other instances: e.g., John of Beverly cured a dumb man by signing his tongue with the cross. *Ecl. Hist.*, v. 2. For other instances see also Meyor and Lumby's *Bede's Ecl. Hist.*, p. 279; and Reeve's *Adaman*, p. 351.

sciens expertus quia Dominus erat cum illo, et omnia opera ejus dirigebat, præstans ei virtutem super omnem hominem extollentem se adversus scientiam Christi, cum in promptu haberet ulcisci omnem inobedientiam et injuriam illatam famulis Christi. Si igitur contemptor iste, et superbus, gratia humilitatis et pœnitentiæ, a sanctissimo viro meruit sic sanari, quis dubitet eum, qui certa fide, sincero et humili corde, ad interioris hominis sui vulnera sananda auxilium tanti viri poposcerit, citum remedium ejus sanctis meritis promereri? Set jam ad alia transeamus, quæ tanto videntur esse majora, quanto ipsi naturæ probantur esse contraria.

CAPUT V.

Presbiterum stupri accusatum absolvit.

FUIT puella quædam in obsequium alicujus viri nobilis, secundum carnis hujus putredinem, pulchra facie et venusto aspectu. In quam cum injecisset oculos juvenis impudicus, amore corripitur cæco, conceptæque libidinis flammam non sustinens, cœpit puellam de consensu sceleris convenire. Effecit tandem vel prece vel pretio, ut conciperet dolorem, et pareret iniquitatem. Subditur alienæ libidini misera mulier, de Dei judicio parum sollicita, quæ humanum se putabat latere posse conspectum. Set tumescente utero crimen proditur, et mox risus in luctum, gaudium in dolorem, voluptas mutatur in pœnam. Set quid ageret? Quo se verteret? Lex, parens, Dominusque timentur. Iniit ergo infelix mulier fœdus cum morte, et in mendacio spem ponit, credens se minus ream videri, si ab aliquo magni nominis viro deceptam se diceret, vel oppressam. Compulsa itaque a majoribus reum prodere, presbitero, cui curam parrochiæ pontifex delegaverat, stupri crimen inponit. Stupebant omnes, qui audiebant verbum, puellamque absolvunt crimine, quod tantæ auctoritatis virum æstimant commisisse. Scandalizantur boni, mali lætantur, ridet vulgus, sacer ordo ab impiis blasphema-

tur; presbiter, cujus læsa fuerat fama, tristatur. At Deo dilectum antiſtitem, Spiritu revelante, innocentia sacerdotis non latuit. Ecclesiæ tamen scandalum, et sanctæ religionis detrimentum haut jocunde sustinuit. Mulieri interim inpleti sunt dies ut pareret, peperitque filium, non in sacerdotis, ut putabatur, set in patris simul et ignominiosæ matris obprobrium. Convocat enim ad ecclesiam pontifex omnem clerum universumque populum, habitoque ad eos sermone exhortatorio, manum etiam inposuit baptizatis. Interea procax mulier omni pudore postposito, cum suis prorumpens in populum, in faciem presbiteri projecit puerum, in auribus totius ecclesiæ ipsum patrem pueri; ipsum corruptorem sui ac deceptorem, vociferans. Fit clamor in populo; pudor bonis, risus malis. At Sanctus silentium imperans plebi, jubet sibi puerum præsentari, non nisi unius noctis ætatem habentem. Dei itaque Spiritu inflammatus, cum intendisset in eum: Heus, inquit, O puer, in nomine Ihesu Christi, si presbiter iste te genuit, coram plebe edicito. O rem stupendam! et omni admiratione dignam! O miram Dei clementiam! O ineffabilem fidei Christianæ virtutem! Vere omnia possibilia credenti. Set quid dico? ¹Quid non posset fides Niniani? Cessit certe natura fidei, ætas virtuti. Quid ni cederet natura Domino naturæ? ² Non expectata est ætas ad instrumentum, non doctrina ad officium, non tempus ad usum: sed fide impetrante vis divina linguam infantis fecit disertam: et ex ore infantis et lactentis ³ confundit reum, convincit mendacem, innocentem absolvit. Ex infantili itaque corpore vox virilis insonuit; lingua inerudita rationabilia verba formavit. Extendensque dexteram, propriumque patrem designans in populo: Hic est, inquit, pater meus; ipse me genuit, ipse crimen quod inponitur sacerdoti commisit. Innocens quippe ab hoc piaculo presbiter tuus est, O episcopo, nichil mihi et illi nisi communis naturæ consortium. Satis hæc. Siluit deinde infans, secundum legem naturæ, vicesque ætatum sibi

¹⁻¹ Omitted by Pinkerton.

² Ps., viii. 2.

³ For a similar story see Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Anglia*, fol. x., and Nennius, *History of the Britons*, 39. For the miracle of the child revealing its paternity see Aberd. Breviary, St. Brigida, *Lectio 8*.

succedentium, postmodum locuturus. Sonat mox in ore omnium gratiarum actio et vox laudis; populus omnis gratulabundus exultat, intelligens quia propheta magnus surrexerat inter eos, et quia Deus visitavit plebem suam.*

CAPUT VI.

Pictorum conversionem suscepit. Ad suos revertitur.

INTEREA ægre ferens vir beatissimus quod expulsus ab orbe Zabulus[†] infra oceanum, in angulo hujus insulæ, in cordibus Pictorum[‡] sibi sedem invenerit, ad ejus tyrannidem debellandam

* Lake, i. 68.

† The devil.

‡ The earliest known inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland were of an Iberian type, small, dark-skinned, and curly-haired, with long skulls. These were followed by the Celts, consisting of two great branches, the British and Gadhelic. "Each of these great branches again was divided into varieties. Of the Gadhelic branch, one was fair-skinned, large-limbed, and red-haired, and were represented in Britain by the people of the interior whom the Romans thought to be indigenous, and who, after the Roman province was formed, were called by them Picts or painted people. They are represented in the legendary history of Ireland by the Tuath De Danann and by the Cruithnigh, a name which was the Irish equivalent of the Latin "Picti," and was applied to the Picts of Scotland, and to the people who preceded the Scots in Ulster, and were eventually confined to the district in the eastern part of it. The other variety was a fair-skinned, brown-haired race, represented in legendary history as the race of Milidh or Milesius, and, after the fourth century, known by the name of Scots." Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. 226-7.

"Caesar tells us that the inhabitants of Britain in his day painted themselves with a dye extracted from wood; by the time, however, of British independence under Carausius and Allectus, in the latter part of the third century, the fashion had so far fallen off in Roman Britain that the word *Picti*, Picts, or painted men, had got to mean the peoples beyond the Northern Wall, and the people on the Solway were probably included under the same name, though they also went by the separate denomination of Atecotti. Now all these Picts were natives of Britain, and the word *Picti* is found applied to them for the first time in a panegyric by Eumenius, in the year 296; but in the year 360 another painted people appeared on the scene. They came from Ireland, and to distinguish these two sets of painted foes from one another, Latin historians left the painted natives to be called *Picti*, as had been done before, and for the painted invaders from Ireland they retained, untranslated, a Celtic word of the same (or

strenuus athleta accingitur; sumens nimirum scutum fidei, galeam salutis, lorica caritatis, et gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei³. Talibus igitur armis munitus, et sanctorum fratrum consortio, quasi cœlesti militia constipatus, illius fortis armati invadit imperium, innumera captivitatis vasa ejus dominio erepturus. Itaque australes Pictos,⁴ quibus adhuc error gentilis inhærens, idola muta, et surda, et venerari ac colere compellabat, aggrediens; Evangelii veritatem, et Christianæ fidei puritatem prædicabat, Deo cooperante et sermonem confirmante, sequentibus signis.⁵ Cæci vident, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, surdi audiunt, mortui surgunt, oppressi a dæmone liberantur.⁶ Aperuit hostium verbo Dei, gratia Spiritus Sancti fides suscipitur, error abdicatur, templa diruuntur, ecclesiæ eriguntur. Currunt ad salutaris lavacri fontem, divites

nearly the same), meaning, namely *Scotti*. Neither the Picts nor the Scotti probably owned the names, the former of which is to be traced to Roman authors, while the latter was probably given the invaders by the Brythons, whose country they crossed the sea to ravage. The Scots, however, did recognize a national name, which described them as painted or tattooed men. Rather we should say it did more; it connoted the embellishment of the person, which the tattooing was supposed to effect. This word was Cruithnig, which is found applied equally to the painted people of both islands. . . . The eponymus of all the Picts was Cruithne, or Cruithnechan, and we have a kindred Brythonic form in Prydyn, the name by which Scotland once used to be known to the Kymry. . . . These words Cruithnig and Prydyn are derived from *cruth* and *pryd* respectively, which mean form, and an Irish shanachie has rightly explained Cruithnig as meaning a people who painted the forms (crotha) of beasts, birds, fishes on their faces, and not on their faces only, but on the whole of the body." Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 235-7.

³ Eph., vi. 17.

⁴ The Northern Picts, Bede's Transmontane Picts, inhabited the whole of the country north of the chain of mountains extending across the island from Ben Nevis in Lochaber to its termination on the east coast between Aberdeen and Stonehaven, and appear to have been purely Gaelic in race and language. The Southern Picts, the australes Picti of Bede and Ailred, had their seats in the Perthshire and Forfarshire Highlands, with Drumalban, separating them from the Scots of Dalriada, for their western boundary, and the Forth for their boundary on the south. See Skene, *Celtic Scot.*, i. 230-231. That St. Ninian ever pushed so far north as to the foot of the Grampians may be doubted. It is much more likely that he confined his labours to the Picts of Galloway. Bede's testimony, however, if not conclusive, is at least explicit. Cf. his words, *Hist.*, iii, 4.

⁵ Mark, xvi. 20.

⁶ Luke, vii. 22.

et pauperes, juvenes et virgines, senes cum junioribus, matres cum infantibus; abrenuntiantesque Sathane et omnibus operibus et pompis ejus, populo credentium fide, voce, sacramentisque junguntur. Agunt gratias misericordissimo Deo, qui in insulis, quæ procul, revelaverat nomen suum, mittens eis prædicatorem veritatis, lucernam suæ salutis; et vocans non plebem suam plebem suam, et non dilectam dilectam, et non misericordiam consecutam, misericordiam consecutam.⁷ Cœpit deinde sacer pontifex ordinare presbiteros, consecrare episcopos, cæterasque ecclesiasticorum graduum distribuere dignitates, totam terram per certas parrochias dividere.⁸ Confirmatis postremo in fide et bonis operibus filiis suis quos in Christo genuerat, omnibusque quæ ad honorem Dei animarumque salutem necessaria videbantur dispositis, valedicens fratribus ad propriam ecclesiam revertitur, ubi vitam omni sanctitate perfectam, et miraculis gloriosam, in magna deinceps spiritus tranquillitate transegit.⁹

CAPUT VII.

Miraculum in porris.

ACCIDIT autem quadam die ut vir beatus rectorium cum fratribus commesurus intraret; cernensque nichil holerum vel

⁷ Hos., i. 10. Cf. Rom., ix. 25.

⁸ "It is certain," says Bishop Forbes, "that St. Ailred here in writing this sentence was transferring the ideas of his own time to those of St. Ninian. The better regulation and extension of the clerical orders, the foundation of new bishoprics, and the establishment of parishes with fixed bounds, were among the most potent means whereby in his time and a little before that the Reformation in Scotland was advanced." He further very justly remarks that "with the exception of the first point, the ordination of presbyters, almost every one of his statements is liable to question." P. 281. The only bishops the Southern Picts seem to have had were Palladius, Ternan, and Servanus; and the only locality among them which can in any sense be called a see was Abernethy. The term *parochia* was used in Ninian's time in quite a different sense from what Ailred meant. Cf. Innes, *Civil and Eccles. Hist.*, p. 43, and Lord Selborne's *Ancient Facts and Fictions*, pp. 55, *et seq.*

⁹ Hæc sunt omnia quæ autor noster sagax dicere dignatur de conversione Pictorum australium, officio quamvis maximo Niniani! Nunc ad declamationem et miracula revertitur.—*Pinkerton.*

herbarum mensis inpositum, vocat fratrem cui fuerat horti cura commissa, quæritque causæ quid fuerit quod nichil porrorum vel herbarum, fratribus ea die esset appositum. Et ille : Vere, pater, quicquid porrorum vel hujusmodi supererat, hodie terræ mandavi, nec aliquid adhuc aptum esui ortus produxit. Tunc Sanctus : Vade, inquit, et quicquid invenerit manus tua tolle, et affer ad me. Miratus ille stabat trepidus, hæsitans quid faceret. Sciens tamen nichil frustra Ninianum posse præcipere, hortum cunctabundus ingreditur. Mira res, et illis tantum, qui fidelem nichil non posse confidunt credibilis. Videt porros, aliaque herbarum genera, non solum crevisse, sed etiam semen produxisse. Stupet ille, et quasi factus in extasi æstimabat se visum videre. Reversus tandem in semetipsum, et sancti viri virtutem ad memoriam revocans, agit gratias Deo ; carpensque quantum sufficere videbatur, ante pontificem mensæ imposuit. Aspiciunt se mutuo convivæ, Deumque in sanctis suis operantem, corde simul ac voce magnificant ; et sic multo melius mente quam corpore pasti recedunt.

CAPUT VIII.

De animalibus et furibus.

PLACUIT aliquando sanctissimo Niniano, armenta sua et pastorum suorum visitare tuguria, volens greges suos, quos in usus fratrum, pauperum quoque et peregrinorum aggregaverat, episcopalis benedictionis esse participes. Congregatis itaque in uno aliquo loco animalibus, cum ea Domini famulus aspexisset, elevatis manibus, se et omnia sua divinæ custodiæ commendavit. Circuiens deinde omnia baculo cui innitebatur, quasi araciunculam modicam circumducens, peccora circumcinxit, jubens ut infra orbiculum illum sub divina custodia omnia ea nocte consisterent. His ita gestis, ad domum cujusdam honestæ matronæ vir Dei ea nocte, ibi quieturus, divertit. Refectis autem cibo corporibus, verbo Dei mentibus, cum se

cuncti sopori dedissent, fures advolant, videntesque pecora nec inclusa maceria, nec sæpe munita, nec circumdata vallo; explorant si vel adessent vigiles, vel quid aliud quod eorum conatui obstitisset. Cumque viderent silere omnia, nec voce, nec motu, nec latratu quidem aliquid quod terreret instare, transeuntes metas quas Sanctus præfixerat in pecus irruunt, omnia abducere laborantes. Sed affuit vis divina resistens inpiis, immo obruens inpios, contra eos qui, velut bruta animalia, mentem non colebant sed ventrem, pro instrumento bruto utens jumento. Taurus enim armentarius, quasi in furorem versus, invadit homines, latronumque principem inter cæteros inpetens prostravit miserum, cornibus ventrem perforat, animam simul cum visceribus excutiens. Deinde terram ungulis fodiens, mirabili impetu saxum quod invenerat pede percutit, ac mirum in modum in tanti miraculi testimonium, quasi in molli cera, in lapide pes mergitur, relinquens in petra vestigium, et ob vestigium loco nomen designans. Adhuc enim ipse locus anglice Farres Last,¹ latine Tauri Vestigium, nuncupatur. Interea pater beatissimus solempni orationum statione soluta digreditur, cernensque hominem evisceratum inter pecudum pedes jacere exanimem; alios huc atque illuc discurrentes quibusdam furiis agitari, misericordia motus est; totusque ad Deum conversus ut mortuum resuscitaret oravit. Nec a lacrimis cessat aut precibus donec hominem, non modo vivum, set et sanum et incolumem, eadem quæ occiderat virtus reddidisset. Vere enim virtus Christi ob sancti viri meritum percussit et sanavit, mortificavit et vivificavit; deduxit ad inferos et reduxit.* Interea cæteri quos intra septum, quod pater formaverat, tota nocte discurrentes amentia quædam concluserat,

¹ The locality has not been identified. According to Dr. M'Lauchlan, *The Early Scottish Church*, pp. 68-69, "the F in *Farres* is obviously a misreading or misprint for T, as *Tarw* in British and *Tarbh* in Gaelic means a bull; the other word may be the Welsh *Llast*, a receptacle. The place, if the name now exists in the neighbourhood of Whithorn, would in all probability be called *Taris Last*. In Gaelic the word for 'footprint' is *Lorg*, so that if that be the language the name would be *Lorg an tairbh*." But there can be little doubt that the words are from the Anglo-Saxon; *fearr*, a bull, and *lást*, a foot-track. Had the miracle occurred as Ailred relates, the name for the place would undoubtedly have been Celtic and not A.-S.

* 1 Sam., ii. 6-7.

cernentes Dei famulum, cum timore et tremore ad ejus genua provolvuntur, veniam postulantes. Quos ille benigne corripiens, et timorem Dei, poenamque rapacibus præparatam salutari sermone insinuans, tandem data benedictione licentiam abeundi concessit.

CAPUT IX.

*Queritur Ailredus de moribus sui sæculi. Mores Niniani
Miraculum imbris.*

COGITANTEM me sanctissimi viri morem sanctissimum, pudet socordiæ nostræ, pudet hujus miseræ generationis ignaviæ. Quis rogo nostrum etiam inter domesticos sæpius jocosa quam seria, otiosa quam utilia, carnalia quam spiritalia, in medium mutua confabulatione et collatione non proferat? Ora quæ ad laudandum Deum, ad sacra misteria celebranda, gratia divina sacravit, cotidie detractationibus, verbisque sæcularibus polluntur. Et Dei psalmos, evangelium, prophetasque fastidiunt; per hominum opera vana et turpia, tota die discurrent. Quid in itinere positi? Nonne sicut corpus, ita et animus, tota die in motu est, lingua in otio? Rumores et mores hominum inpiorum in ore versantur; risu et famulis gravitas religiosa dissolvitur; negotia regum, episcoporum officia, ministeria clericorum, principum altercationes, vita insuper omnium moresque discutiuntur. Præter ipsum judicium nostrum, omnia judicamus; et, quod magis dolendum est, invicem mordemus et comedimus, ut ab invicem consumamur.¹ Non sic beatissimus Ninianus; non sic cujus quieti turba non obfuit, nec meditationem impedivit iter, nec lassitudine oratio tepuit. Ubicunque enim incedebat, aut oratione aut contemplatione

¹ Gal., v. 15. Complaints similar to those which Ailred here makes may be found scattered up and down the writings of the period, particularly in those of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. For a collection of illustrative extracts see Forbes' note U, pp. 287-290.

animum ad cœlestia erigebat. Verum quotiens divertens ab itinere, requiei corporis vel etiam jumentum indulgebat; producto libello quem, propter hoc ipsum circumferebat, legere aliquid aut psallere gratum habebat. Sentiebat enim quod ait propheta, quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua, super mel ore meo.² Unde illi tantam gratiam virtus divina contulerat, ut etiam sub divo recumbens, et legens inter densissimas pluvias, nichil umquam humoris, cui intendebat codicem attigisset. Set vicinis locis circumquaque aqua irruente madentibus, solus cum libello suo ita sub undis quasi sub tecti alicujus culmine resideret. Contigit autem virum reverentissimum cum suo aliquando fratre, viro æque sanctissimo, Plebia nomine, iter agere, ac more suo laborem itineris hymnis solari Davidicis. Cumque, post aliquod viæ spatium, ut modicum repausarent, a via publica divertissent, apertis Psalteriis, sacra lectione, animos recreabant. Mox aeris jocunda serenitas, atris obducta nubibus, aquas pluviales quas haustu naturali conceperat, de superioribus ad inferiora transmisit. Quid plura? Tenuis aer, instar cameræ, circa Dei famulos arcuatus, quasi paries aliquis undis defluentibus inpenetrabilis persistebat. Verum inter psallendum beatissimus Ninianus oculos a libello detorsit, tactus modicum cogitatione illicita, etiam desiderio quodam suggestionem titillabatur dæmonica.³ Sed mox ipsum, codicemque ejus, inber invadens prodidit quod latebat. Tunc frater qui assidebat, quid agebatur intelligens, leni correptione ordinis eum et ætatis commonuit, et quantum talem talia dedecere aperuit. Statim vir Dei in se reversus erubuit se inutili cogitatione fuisse præventum; eodemque momento temporis et cogitationem deposuit et imbrem suspendit.

CAPUT X.

Miracula baculi Niniani in mari et in terra.

INTEREA beato pontifici plures tam nobiles quam mediocres, filios suos tradunt sacris literis inbuendos. Quos et scientia erudie-

² Ps., cxix. 103.

³ Cf. the Vit. Kentig., c. xxxv.

bat, et moribus informabat ; vitia, quibus ea ætas implicari solet, salubri disciplina coercens ; virtutes quibus sobrie juste et pie viverent insinuans. Deliquerat aliquando unus ex adolescentibus, quod sanctum Dei latere non potuit. Et quia non debuit disciplina deesse peccanti, parabantur virgæ, sævissima, tormenta puerorum. Territus adolescens fugam iniit. Nec virtutem viri ignorans, baculum cui solebat inniti secum asportare curabat, optimum sibi viæ solatium arbitrans adquisisse, si aliquid de rebus Sancti secum attulisset. Fugiens itaque a facie viri, navem quæ transfretaret in Scotiam quæritabat. Solet illis in locis vas quoddam, in similitudinem crateræ ex virgis conpingi, tantæ magnitudinis, ut sedentes juxta se tres homines capere sufficiant.¹ Cui corium bovinum superducentes non solum nabilem, sed et aquis impenetrabilem, reddunt. Forte tunc temporis eodem modo naves inmensæ magnitudinis parabantur. Unam itaque talem non tamen corio superductam, apulsam litori adolescens offendit. Quam cum incautius fuisset ingressus, divina providentia, nescio an propria lenitate, facili enim tactu tales super undas longius evolant, porro in mare navis abripitur. Aquis vero irruentibus stat nauta miserabilis, quid ageret, quo se verteret, vel quid facto opus esset ignorans. Si navem desereret vita periclitaretur ; residentem mors certa manebat. Tunc demum miser fugæ poenitens ultrices paternæ injuriæ undas¹ vultu pallente spectabat. Tandem in se reversus, et Sanctum Ninianum in suo baculo arbitrans esse præsentem, quasi ante ejus vestigia lacrimabili voce confitetur reatum, veniam postulat, ejusque sanctissimis meritis, adesse sibi divinum precabatur auxilium. Deinde de nota sibi pontificis pietate, simul ac virtute confisus, in uno foraminum baculum fixit, ut etiam in mari quid posset

¹ Similes naviculæ in usu fuere, et sunt, inter omnes fere gentes barbaricas. Vide Plin. Hist. Nat., lib. iv., c. 16. Solin. Prisci Legat., &c., et navigatores hodiernos.—*Pinkerton*. "Cymric Britons, though they lived on an island, had no boats or vessels, except coracles, framed of slight ribs of wood covered with hides. These frail boats are still used by the Welsh fishermen on the Wye ; and it may be remarked that the Celtic tribes in general have never taken to the sea, while the Teutons seem always to have enjoyed the danger of the ocean."—*Palgrave, Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 4.

Ninianus posteris non lateret. Mox ad tactum baculi elementum expavit, et quasi divina virtute repulsum, per aperta foramina ulterius influere non presumpsit. Tua sunt hæc, Christi, opera, qui discipulis tuis loquens, fideles tuos hac promissione donasti: Qui credit in me, opera quæ ego facio, et ipse faciet.² Tu undis maris sacra impressisti vestigia, virtus Niniani naturalem maris virtutem compressit. Discipulum titubantem, et ob hoc inter undas periclitantem, ne mergeretur tua sancta manus erexit. Discipulum fugientem, ne fluctibus absorberetur, baculus Niniani protexit. Tu mari inperasti et ventis, ut discipulis timor adimeretur: virtus Niniani ventos moderavit, et mare, ut ad optata litora juvenis transferetur.

A parte quippe orientali ventus exurgens, naviculam leni pulsu portabat. Baculus pro velo ventum excipiebat, baculus pro gubernaculo navem regebat, baculus per anchora navem sistebat. Stat in litore occidentali³ populus, cernensque navicellam instar aviculæ fluctibus insidere, nec velo agi, nec urgeri remige, nec gubernaculo regi; quid hoc esset miraculi attonitus expectabat. Applicat interim adolescens, et, ut viri Dei merita latius innotescerent, fide animatus baculum fixit in littore; rogans Deum ut in testimonium tanti miraculi, missis radicibus, humoreque contra naturam recepto, ramos frondesque produceret, ac flores fructusque parturiret. Affuit propitia divinitas orantis affectui, ac mox lignum aridum porrectis radicibus, et novo se cortice vestiens, frondes ramosque produxit, ac postmodum in arborem non modicam crescens, virtutem Niniani etiam nunc cunctis cernentibus patefacit. Adicitur miraculo miraculum. Ad radicem quippe arboris fons limpidissimus erumpens, vitreum rivulum leni serpentem murmure, ductu longiori emittit, et aspectu delectabilem, et dulcem haustu, infirmis autem ob sancti merita utilem et salubrem.⁴

² John, xiv. 12.

³ Pinkerton here printed "orientali," which is the reading of the MS. in the Brit. Museum.

⁴ According to Ailred, the youth commits a fault at Candida Casa, and attempts to flee to Scotia. His coracle is caught by a wind from the east, and the people who receive him stand on the *western* shore. As it stands the description points neither to Ireland nor to Argyleshire, as the Scotia to which the youth fled; for being im-

CAPUT XI.

Declamatio de morte Niniani. Ejus sepultura apud Whithern.

HIS atque hujusmodi miraculis beatissimus Ninianus mirabiliter fulgens, ac summis virtutibus pollens, ad diem vocationis suæ felici cursu pervenit. Dies illa beato viro dies exultationis et letitiæ, sed populo cui præerat dies tribulationis et miseriæ. Exultabat ille cui cælum aperiebatur; dolebat populus qui tali patre orabatur. Exultabat ille cui corona perpetua parabatur, tristabantur illi quorum salus periclitabatur. Verum et ipsius gaudium interpolabat affectus, cum et ipsos deserere grave, a Christo autem diutius separari intolerabile videretur. Set animam sic cunctantem Christus consolans: Surge, inquit, propera amica mea, columba mea, et veni. Surge, inquit, amica mea, surge columba mea, surge per intellectum, propera per desiderium, veni per affectum. Congruit sane beatissimo viro vox ista, utpote amico sponsi, cui sponsam suam sponsus ille cælestis commiserat; cui revelaverat secreta sua, cui thesauros suos aperuerat. Merito amica vocatur anima illa, ut ex amore totum, nichil ex timore constabat. Amica, inquit, mea, columba mea. O columba! columba sane docta gemere, quæ felleæ amaritudinis nescia, flebat cum flentibus, cum infirmis infirmabatur, urebatur cum scandalizatis. Surge, propera amica mea,

pelled by an East wind the people who received him must have stood on the *East* coast, whether of Ireland or Argyle. On the other hand, if for "in litore occidentali" "in litore orientali" be substituted, the shore at which he arrived might be either Ireland or Argyle. On the shore of Ireland, however, no well of St. Ninian is known, but on the east shore of Kintyre one is. At Sanda, in the East corner of Kintyre, there is a small chapel dedicated to S. Ninian, and not far from it a perennial spring, noted for miracles. (*Orig. Paroch.*, iii., 820.) In the burying-ground of the same chapel there is, moreover, an alder tree growing over the reputed grave of the Saint, over which should any one walk he is said to be doomed to die. The probability is, therefore, that, as Dr. Skene has suggested, instead of "occidentali" we should read "orientali," and by Scotia understand Argyleshire. It may also be added that in the time of Ailred the use of the term Scotia had become, as Dr. Skene also remarks in the note printed by Bp. Forbes, p. 291, quite fixed, and was used to designate Scotland North of the Friths of Forth and Clyde.

columba mea, et veni ; jam enim hyems transiit, humber abiit et recessit. Tunc certe, vir beate ! hyems tibi transiit, quando cœlestem illam patriam contemplari felici oculo merebaris, quam sol justitiæ lumine suæ claritatis illustrat, quam succendit amor, quam mirabilis rerum æquitas, quasi verna quædam temperies, temporis ineffabili unitate modificat. Tunc tibi hyemalis intemperies quæ omnia hæc terrena distemperat, quæ frigida mortalium corda vitiis irruentibus durat, in qua plene nec veritas lucet, nec caritas ardet, transiit et recessit, ymbresque temptationum, ac persecutionum grandines, anima illa sancta, perfecte triumphans, in gloriam perpetuæ viriditatis evasit. Flores, inquit, apparuerunt in terra nostra. De floribus quippe Paradisi, odor tibi cœlestis, beate Niniane ! spirabat, quando tibi et purpuratorum et candidatorum grex, quasi familiarissimo suo vultu placido arridebat, et ad suum te consortium invitabat, quem nimirum et castitas candidum, et roseum reddiderat caritas. Nam etsi occasio corporalis hujus martirii non præstitit signum, illa, sine qua martirium nichil est, martirii meritum, non negavit. Quotiens enim se gladiis optulit perversorum, quotiens se, propter justitiam, tiranorum armis exposuit, pro veritate paratus occumbere, mori pro justitia ! Merito ergo ad flores rosarum et lilia convallium, ipse purpuratus et candidatus adciscitur, ascendens de Libano, ut inter cœlestia agmina coronetur. Tempus enim putationis advenit ; quasi maturus enim botrus jam a stipite corporis, vel a terrenæ hujus ecclesiæ vinea fuerat amputandus, liquandus caritate, et in apotecis cœlestibus recondendus.

Beatus itaque Ninianus vita perfectus, ætate maturus, feliciter migravit e mundo¹ ; æternaque percepturus stipendia, angelicis spiritibus comitantibus invehitur cœlo. Ubi nimirum Apostolicis choris sociatus, martirum admixtus cuneis, sanctorum con-

¹ Barbour gives for the date of S. Ninian's death, Sept. 16, A.D. 332.

"The date of flesh he can yield
Of Septembre the xvi. day
At Quhyborne into Galloway,
Fra Cristis birth thre hundred yere
And twa and thretty to that mure." ll. 610-614.

The day and month are in all probability correct, St. Nian's Day being Sept. 16 ; but the year must be wrong by about a century.

fessorum insertus agminibus, virgineis etiam floribus adornatus, in se sperantibus, ad se clamantibus, se laudantibus, subvenire non desinit. Sepultus est autem in ecclesia beati Martini, quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat,² positusque in sarcophago lapideo juxta altare, clero et populo astante, hymnisque cœlestibus voce, corde cum suspiriis et lacrimis personante. Ubi virtus quæ in vivente claruerat circa corpus defuncti apparere non cessat; ut omnis fidelis agnoscat eum in cœlestibus vivere, quem in terris constat operari. Ad ejus namque sacratissimum tumulum³ curantur infirmi, mundantur leprosi, terrentur inpii, cæci illuminantur: in quibus omnibus fides credentium roboratur, ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Ihesu Christi; qui vivit et regnat cum Deo patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

CAPUT XII.

MIRACULA RELIQUIARUM NINIANI.

1. *In paupere deformi.*

TRANSLATO igitur ad superos beatissimo Niniano, plebs fidelium quæ viventem dilexerat, hoc quod de eo sibi videbatur esse relictum, sanctissimas scilicet ejus reliquias, summa devotione frequentabat. Cujus religioni ac fidei favens Divinitas sanctum suum, quem communis conditio terris exemerat, in cœlestibus vivere crebris miraculis comprobabat. Cuidam de plebe de uxore propria natus est filius miserabilis, utriusque parentis dolor, plebis admiratio, intuentium horror, quem contra naturam

² So tradition, and Barbour who says:

“And in Sanct Martynis kirke
Wes enterit that he gert virke,
And in a costlyk kiste of stane,
Til mony yeris war ourgane.” ll. 615-618.

³ Barbour states that the shrine would be visited in one day by as many as ten thousand persons, who came from France, England, Spain, Wales, Ireland.

natura formaverat, omnibus membris in contrarium versis. Retroversis namque pedum articulis, tali anterieus prominebant, dorsum vultui cohærebat, pectus vicinabatur occipiti, curvatis brachiis manus cubitis insidebant. Quid plura? Jacebat illa atra effigies cui data fuerant membra sine usu, vita sine fructu, cui artubus cæteris dissolutis sola lingua supererat, quam miseram plangeret, qua intuentes ad luctum, audientes provocaret ad fletum. Parentibus dolor continuus erat, tristitia cotidie acrescebat. Venit eis tandem in mentem sanctissimi Niniani totiens experta majestas; ac fide plene miserum illud cadaver arripiunt. adeuntesque sacri viri reliquias sacrificium contriti cordis cum lacrimarum profusione offerunt, ac precibus devotis usque ad horam vespertinam insistunt. Deinde truncum illum ante tumulum sancti proicientes. Suscipe, inquiunt, O beate Niniani! quod offerimus, munus quidem invisum, set ad tuam virtutem comprobendam satis idoneum. Certe nos fessi, nos fatigati, nos affecti tristitia, nos tædio victi, tuæ illud pietati exponimus. Nimirum si munus est, debetur gratia offerentibus; si honus, tu utique fortior ad sustinendum, cui potior virtus est ad subveniendum. Hic igitur aut moriatur, aut vivat; aut sanetur, aut pereat. Hæc, vel similia, cum lacrimis prosecuti, relicto ante sacras reliquias ægroto, discedunt. Et ecce intempestæ noctis silentio, videt miser adventantem, ad se virum cœlesti luce coruscum, pontificalibus insigniis præfulgentem. Qui tangens ei caput jubet sanum consurgere, et Deo, sanatori suo, gratias agere. Quo abscedente, quasi de gravi sompno evigilans, pauper membra singula ad loca naturalia facili motu retorquet; recuperatoque officio omnium, ad suos sanus incolumisque revertitur. Deinde totum se in ecclesia, ecclesiasticisque disciplinis, primo attonsus in clericum, et postmodum in presbiterum ordinatus, in ipsius patris obsequiis vitam finivit.

2. *In paupere scabioso.*

Excitata fama miraculi accurrunt multi; sua singuli incommoda ante sacras reliquias componentes. Inter quos vir quidam simplex, censu quidem pauper, set fide ac bona voluntate dives advenit; cujus inaudita scabies totum corpus invaserat, omni-

aque obsederat membra, adeo ut cutis mirabiliter obdurescens venarum meatus obcluderet, arterias circumquaque constringeret; nichilque aliud nisi mortem patienti pararet. Accedens itaque miser ad corpus sancti, devotissimas orationes altari, fidei, domino, offerebat. Fluunt lacrimæ, singultus prorumpunt, succutitur pectus, ipsa viscera contremiscunt. Non defuit tantæ fidei, tantæque contritioni meritum sancti, non defuit pietas Christi: et sanctum suum glorificans, et miserum misericorditer salvans. Quid multis morer? non cessat a precibus pauper Adelfridus, hoc ei nomen viro, donec paucis expletis diebus pristinæ redditur sanitati.

3. *In puella cæca.*

Erat præterea tum in populo puella quædam, Deisuit ei nomen, quæ tanto oculorum dolore vexata est, ut vis morbi omnem ei videndi sensum adimeret, tenebrisque omnia occupantibus, etiam solis ei lumen absconderet. Dolor patienti, maioribus suis compatiens meror. Set quid agerent? Facta est de medicorum industria desperatio, quod solum spei superfuit, quæritur Ninianus. Ad manus itaque tracta ante sanctissimam glebam, dolens ploransque dimittitur. Quærit intente, petit sollicite, pulsatur inopportune, non exciderat pio Ihesu quid in suo promiserit evangelio: Petite et accipietis; quærite et invenietis; pulsate et aperietur vobis.¹ Itaque memoratæ illi puellæ apparuit gratia quam quæsivit. Aperta est janua pietatis ad quam pulsavit. Data est sanitas quam petivit. Sublatis enim tenebris lux amissa reparatur. Dolor omnis abscedit; ita ut quæ alio ducente ad sacrum venerat tumultum, proprii luminis ductu ad domum rediret, cum magna exultatione parentum.

4. *In duobus leprosis.*

Visi sunt præterea venire in civitatem viri duo leprosi. Qui presumptuosum æstimantes cum lepræ contagio sancta tangere, quasi de longe patris poscunt auxilium. Accedentes autem ad fon-

¹ Mat., vii. 7.

tem, et sanctum arbitantes quicquid sanctus contigerat Ninianus, lavacro illo se abluendos putarunt. O novum Helisei prophetæ miraculum! O nova non unius, sed duorum, Naaman emundatio! Venit Naaman in spiritu præsumptionis isti in spiritu humilitatis: ille in dubitatione, isti in fide. Dubitabat rex Sirix, dubitabat rex Israel, dubitabat Naaman; dubitabat rex Sirix; dubitabat et superbiebat, qui non ad prophetam, sed ad regem, leprosum suum mittendum putavit. Dubitavit rex Israel, qui auditis litteris regis Sirix, scidit vestimenta sua, et ait: Numquid Deus ego sum, ut vivificare possim, et mortificare? Dubitavit Naaman, qui, audito prophetæ consilio, recedebat indignans. Naaman ergo in curru superbiæ stetit ad hostium Helisei. Isti in fide et humilitate ad misericordiam vociferant Niniani. Merito ejus fons vertitur in Jordanem, Ninianus in prophetam.¹ Mundantur leprosi tactu lavacri, sed meritis Niniani; et restituta est caro eorum, sicut caro parvuli: revertunturque ad sua incolumes, ad gloriam Niniani, in laudem Dei, in sanctis suis mirabiliter operantis. Set jam sit hujus operis finis, quamvis miraculis sancti Niniani necdum sit finis: quæ adhuc nostris temporibus coruscare non desinunt, ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivet et regnat per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

¹ 2 Kings, v.

OFFICIUM NINIANI.¹

In Festo Sancti Patris nostri Niniani Episcopi et Confessoris.

I. In primis Vesperis.

- Antiph.* Ovans agat hæc concia | Niniani solemnia.
 Trinæ vocis tripudio | laudum sonat obsequia,
 Ut mens, lingua, et actio | pari concordent gloria;
 Placebit sic laudatio | Deo, reddenti præmia.
Ps. Laudate pueri.
- Ant.* Ille Pictorum tenebras | fugat, dans vitæ monita,
 Mundi contemnens blanditias, | dux plebis ad coelestia.
Ps. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes.
- Ant.* Vita præcessit populum | sic sanctitate prævia:
 Nunc haurit in te poculum | dux cum ductis in patria.
Ps. Lauda anima.
- Ant.* Tanto patrono plaudere | jure debes, Albania,
 Secura salva sistere | dum vitas vitæ devia.
Ps. Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus.
- Ant.* Ad coelos migrans hodie | locandus in deliciis,
 Ad mores fac quotidie | migrare nos a vitiis.
Ps. Lauda Hierusalem.

Capitulum Unius Confes.

- Respm.* Quod cambuca vir Dei circueat,
 Taurus custos armentum vigilat,
 Qui latronis dum ventrem perforat,
 Infelicem ultor exanimat;
 Mox cadaver sanctus vivificat,
 Saulum sternens Paulum resuscitat.
- Versus.* Insigne geritur signum certaminis:
 Pes saxo jungitur bovis et hominis.
 Mox. Gloria.

- Hymnus.* Christe, qui rex es gloriæ,
 Caput sanctorum omnium,
 Tu Niniano gratiæ
 Tuæ dedisti præmium.
 Ortus regali semine,
 Clare puer est indolis;
 Vir veritatis lumine
 Dat vitam pastor incolis,

¹ From the Breviarium Aberdonense, pars aestiv., fol. CVII.

Pictis junctis Britonibus,
 Turmis duarum gentium.
 Mercatur in coelestibus
 Regionem viventium.
 Regem percussit ultio;
 Vir Belial qui fuerat,
 Sanatur, et devotio
 Pia mitem reddiderat.
 A mortis solvit vinculo
 Quem taurus perforaverat;
 A mortis et periculo
 Vir undis raptum liberat.
 Ægris se reddit habilem,
 Multos curans miraculis,
 Deum sibi placabilem
 Beatis videns oculis.
 Præsta Christe victoriam
 Nobis, devictis hostibus,
 Niniani memoriam
 Vitam confer agentibus. Amen.

Vernus. Amavit eum.

Ant. Stirps regalis quæ vita floruit,
 Prolem profert, regem quem decuit;
 Patrum pater patronum genuit
 Ninianum, quo mundus claruit;
 Hic ut sidus signis emicuit,
 Dum Britannos fidem perdocuit.

Ps. Magnificat.

Oratio. Deus qui hodiernam diem beati Niniani confessoris tui atque pontificis
 festivitate honorabilem nobis dedicasti, concede propitius, ut, cujus eruditione
 veritatis tuæ luce perfundimur, ejus intercessione cœlestis vitæ gaudia conse-
 quamur. Per Dominum nostrum.

*Memoria de oc. nativit. b. Mariae solemniter, et de martyribus Eusebia cum
 sociis suis privatim.*

Oratio. Præsta quesimus Domine precibus nostris cum exultatione proventum, ut,
 quorum diem passionis annua devotione recolimus, etiam fidei constantia sub-
 sequamur. Per Dominum nostrum.

II. Ad Matutinum.

Invitatorium. Christus laudetur,
 Niniano laus jubiletur.

Ps. Venite.

Hymnus. Christe qui rex, etc.

In I. Nocturno.

Ant. Ninianus teneris annis constitutus
 Inhiabat superis moribus imbutus.

Ps. Beatus vir.

Ant. Romam petens dogmatis causa visitavit,
Sed vitæ pro meritis præsul remeavit.

Ps. Quare fremuerunt.

Ant. Factus hic Britonibus fidei legatus,
Perfidus sollicitus reprimit conatus.

Ps. Domine quid.

Vers. Amavit etc.

Lectio I. Gloriosam sanctissimi Niniani vitam divina nobis commendat auctoritas, quæ sanctum patriarcham Abraham patrem multarum gentium et fidei principem ante tempora sæcularia predestinatum, tali primum probatur instituisse oraculo : Egredere de terra et de cognatione tua et de domo patris tui, et vade in terram quam monstravero tibi et faciam te crescere in gentem magnam.

Resp. Ninianus nobilis, | clare puer indolis, | sacris inardescit ;
Ut sic prosit patriæ, | se presentat curiæ, | qua præsul recessit.

Vers. Et conjectu spiritus | ejus mentis habitus | Martino clarescit,
Ut etc.

Lectio II. Beatissimus Ninianus, relicta patria domoque patris, didicit in terra aliena quod post doceret in propria, constitutus a Domino super gentes et regna, evellere et destruere, plantare et ædificare. Hujus beatissimi viri et conversationis ejus sacra primordia et sanctitatis insignia, dignitatem officii et fructum ministerii, finem optimum et laboris præmium venerabilis Beda in ecclesiastica historia genti suæ paucissimis commendans verbis ita de eo scribit.

Resp. Pastor redit : fit plausus omnium,
Plebs obedit, fugit demonium,
Reseratur fides credentium,
Cedit error, crescit miraculum.

Vers. Gens seducta suggestu demonum
Per hunc Sanctum credit in Dominum,
Cedit etc.

Lectio III. Anno ab incarnatione Domini quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto, quo tempore gubernaculum Romani imperii post Justinianum Justinus minor accepit, venit de Ybernia presbyter et abbas habitu et vita monachi insignis, nomine Columba, Britanniam, predicaturus verbum Dei provinciis septentrionalium Pic-torum, hoc est, eis quæ arduis atque horrentibus montium jugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestratæ.

Resp. Rex nequam, monita contemnens præsulis,
Luit opprobria dolore capitis ;
Sed quem obduxerat cæcitas luminis,
Firmum reddiderat in fide numinis.

Vers. Fit morbi duplicis duplex curatio :
Cordis et corporis illuminatio.
Sed etc.

In II. Nocturno.

Ant. Tactu viri justitiæ | visu privantur oculi
Regis, fastu superbiæ | molesti sancto præsuli.

Ps. Cum invocarem.

Ant. Præsul placatus venia | lumen amissum reddidit ;
Rex ductus poenitentia | Christo renatus credidit.

Ps. Verba mea.

Ant. Crimen matris panditur | ex infantis ore,
Dum confuso solvitur | insons corruptore.

Ps. Domine, Dominus noster.

Vers. Justum.

Lectio IV. Namque ipsi australes Picti qui inter eosdem montes habent sedes, multo ante tempore, relicto errore idolatriæ, fidem veritatis acceperant, predicante eis verbum Dei Niniano episcopo reverendissimo et sanctissimo, viro de natione Britonum, qui erat Romæ regulariter fide et mysterio veritatis edoctus.

Resp. Per incastum gravidata | mater, tandem coartata | partus patrem prodere,
Senem coepit accusare, | sic se credens excusare | de commisso scelere.
Res stupenda | contra morem | pandit infans genitorem.

Vers. Ex infantis lactentis pectore
Vox virilis sonat cum robore,
Patrem prodit victum facinore,
Res stupenda etc.

Lectio V. Cujus sedem episcopatus Sancti Martini episcopi nomine et ecclesiam insignem, ubi ipse etiam corpore una cum pluribus sanctis requiescit, qui locus a vulgo vocatur Ad Candidam Casam, eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide insolito Britonibus more fecerit.

Resp. Sedens Sanctus in refectorio | et confratres pascens miraculo
Hortolanum vocat continuo | olus ferri jubens ex hortulo.
Herbam profert cum seminario | jam tunc satam, dans grates Domino.

Vers. Ad præceptum Niniani | mens stupefcit hortolani,
Sciens tamen nihil vani | voto sancti succedere ;
Ipso die seminatum | profert terra fructum gratum | jubente pontifice.
Herbam profert cum seminario | jam tunc satam.

Lectio VI. Tanti itaque viri fideli testimonio didiscimus viri hujus principia, qui eum de gente Britonum oriundum, regulis fidei in sancta Romana ecclesia [astruit] instructum. Didiscimus et officium, qui eum episcopum et verbi Dei predicatorem fuisse commendat. Didiscimus et fructum laboris, qui australes Pictos ejus industria ab idolatria ad veram fidem probat esse conversos. Didiscimus et finem, qui eum in sancti Martini ecclesia una cum pluribus sanctis requiescere protestatur, quæ in presens in honore ejusdem dedicatur.

Resp. Duce[m] furum taurus aggreditur,
Cornu bruti brutalis cæditur,
Rupto ventre vita discutitur.
Rursum vivus ac sanus redditur.

Vers. Discursu devio volant latrunculi,
In municipio stringuntur baculi.
Rursum. Gloria. Rursum.

In III. Nocturno.

Ant. Patrem linquit parvulus | verberis timore :
Quem reduxit baculus | vorticis ab ore.

Ps. Domine quis.

Ant. Lignum florens aridum | cunctis stat in signum,
Fons erumpens famulum | probat Deo dignum.

Ps. Domine in virtute.

Ant. Niniano singula | parent elementa :
Ignis, aer, arida, | potus et fluenta.

Ps. Domini est terra.

Vers. Justus ut palma.

Evangelium. Homo quidem peregre etc.

Homelia Venerabilis Bedæ presbyteri de vita et miraculis Sancti Niniani.

Lectio VII. Verbum quod ipse breviter, prout historię suę tenor postulare videbatur, tantum tetigisse videtur, nobis liber de vita et miraculis ejus barbarice scriptus latius exsequendum proponit. Qui quidem liber a testimonii illius fundamento nusquam devians, modum tantum quo talia initia arripuit, quo talem fructum promeruit, quo tam laudabilem finem obtinuit, historico more conscribit.

Resp. Virgam timens reus discipulus
Fugam subiit adolescentulus ;
Clam defertur magistri baculus,
Quo salvatur nauclerus tremulus.

Vers. Multi foraminum | patescunt aditus,
Incursus fluminum | sistit divinitus.
Clam etc.

Lectio VIII. [In] Insula igitur, quę quondam a Bruto ut dicitur Britannię nomen accepit, in ipsius nominis gente, haud ignobili familia beatus Ninianus extitit oriundus, in ea, ut [putatur,] regione quę in occiduís ipsius insulę partibus, ubi oceanus quasi brachium porrigens ex : utraque parte quasi duos angulos faciens Scotorum nunc et Anglorum regna dividit, constituta, usque ad novissima Scotorum tempora proprium habuisse regem, non solum historiarum fide, sed quorundam memoria comprobatur.

Resp. Cum collega vir proficiscitur, | sic psallendi locus eligitur ;
Atra nube dumus obducitur, | imber de qua fusus emittitur ;
Supra Sanctum unda restringitur, | curva nube cum circumcingitur.

Vers. Imbris stillam prohibet nubes camerata,
Ne vestis vel littera Sancti sit rigata.
Supra etc.

Lectio IX. Pater ejus rex fuit fidei talisque meriti, ut tali prole dignus haberetur, per quem ea quę gentis suę fidei deerant supplerentur, et alterius gentis natio quę fidei sacramenta non noverat, sacrę religionis imbueretur mysteriis. Hic in ipsa infantia sacrosancti baptismatis unda renatus vestem nuptialem quam candidatus suscepit immaculatam conservans victor vitiorum Christi eam conspectibus presentavit, ac Spiritum Sanctum quem primum habuit mundatorem, sanctissimis moribus sui sacri pectoris habere meruit illustratorem. Ipsius namque magisterio quod contrarium religioni, quod castitati adversum, quod bonis moribus contrarium, quod legibus veritatis dissonum, adhuc puer, sed non sensu puerili, exhorruit. Quod

vero legis erat, quod gratiæ, quod honestatis, quod utile proximo, quod gratum Deo, senili jam mente excolere non cessavit.

Resp. Infans invisus nascitur, | effigies horribilis,
Vultus dorso transmittitur, | monstrum formæ mirabilis,
Manus, pedes et brachia | cunctis privantur usibus ;
Christi fulgent magnalia | membris in transversalibus :
Sospes regreditur.

Vers. Ad Niniani tumulum | tetrum munus adducitur,
In summi laudis titulum | sanatus restituitur.
Manus. Gloria. Manus.

Prosa. Sospitati Niniani dat ægris oratio :
Tumor cædit hydropicis, et lepre contagio,
Redditur vita [de]functis et mutis locutio,
Cæcis visus, claudis gressus, et surdis auditio,
Gaudent portu naufragati, et sterilis filio,
Liberantur carcerati, dementes demonio,
Fugit thisis, gutta, febris, epilepsia passio,
Aridorum membra suo redduntur officio.
O quam probat sanctum Dei furum liberatio.
Oculorumque membrorum nova restitutio.
Ergo laudes Niniano nostra psallet concio,
Nam qui corde poscunt illum loto prius vitio,
Sospes regreditur.

Vers. Ora pro nobis beate Niniane.

III. In Laudibus.

Ant. Collaudemus omnium summum creatorem,
Suum qui mirificat signis confesso rem.

Ps. Dominus regnavit.

Ant. Ad Sancti reliquias sitiens virtutem
Monstrum Deo gratias recepit salutem.

Ps. Jubilate.

Ant. Hinc pro luce perdita pulsante puella
Læta luce reddita redit jam novella.

Ps. Deus Deus.

Ant. Morphea mortifera, quæ corpus obsessit,
Non linquens vestigia corpori recessit.

Ps. Benedicite.

Ant. Niniani meritis morbidus curantur,
Cæci vident, audiunt surdi, muti fantur.

Ps. Laudate.

Hymnus. Adest dies lætitiæ
Niniani pontificis,
Quo stolam sumpsit gloriæ,
Choris sceptus angelicis.
Plaudite turba fidelium,
Patris colens solemnias,

Ejus laudans preconium
 Qui suis dat praesidiæ.
 In paradiso ecclesiae
 Virtutem ex dulcedine
 Spiramen dat aromatum
 Ninianus coelestium.
 Hic Ninianus sumitur
 Calcato luctu sæculi,
 Coelum victor ingreditur
 Cum turmis multi populi.
 Jesu, rector luctantium,
 Tua nos rege gratia,
 Supplantando demonium,
 Mundum, carnem justitia.

Ant. Ora Christe victoriam ; | O quam pia pura | patris almi cura
 Circa simplices ! | nulli nam in vanum | poscunt Ninianum ;
 Quamvis complices | culpæ sint et rei, | dum in arce spei
 Constant supplices, | hic corde contritos | solvit compeditos,
 Frangens compedes.

Ps. Benedictus.

Oratio ut supra. Memoria de Martyribus (Eufemia cum sociis).

IV. Ad Vesperas.

Ant. Collaudemus omnium etc.

Ps. FERIALES.

Capitulum unius confessoris ut super.

Resp. Nos qui sumus involuti | vitiorum finibus,
 Dementes et imbuti | delictorum sordibus,
 Niniane, te rogamus, | fave supplicantibus :
 Ut cœlorum rex placatus | a te fuis precibus
 Nos mundatos a peccatis | jungat cœli civibus.

Vers. Nobis sis patronus | pius, pastor bonus, | memor miseris,
 Qui te colunt corde, | purgatos a sorde | redde superis.
 Niniane etc.

Hymnus.

Plaudat turba fidelium
 Novis productis canticis,
 Promat laudis preconium
 Niniani pontificis.
 Cujus doctrina et monitis
 Gens graditur feliciter,
 Error ab illicitis
 Conversa est salubriter.
 Virga vetus mosaica,
 Et baculus antistitis
 Signa conformant coelica,
 Niniani pro meritis :

Virga mare dividitur,
 Ducatum præbens populo ;
 Unda maris reflectitur,
 Navem regente baculo.
 Aqua fluxit de lapide,
 Hebræum potans populum ;
 Exivit fons a cuspide,
 Baculi mittens rivulum.
 Virga legalis arida
 Frondes, flores produxerat ;
 Tali virtute valida
 Baculus arens creverat.
 Imber invasit codicem,
 Dum mens vacaret otio,
 Inundans, suspendit laticem
 Labens mentis oratio,
 In mundo laude egregia
 Florebat mirabilibus,
 Nunc est in coeli curia
 Vivens cum sanctis omnibus.
 Laus trino et uni Domino
 Sit, qui est sine termino,
 Qui Niniani precibus
 [Nos] jungat cœli civibus. Amen.

Versus. Justus germinabit.

Ant. Pastor, pasce gregem, | superum pete pro grege regem :
 Gratus [ut] reddatur | et ovili restituatur ;
 Lumine perfunde | famulos virtutis habunde,
 Lucifer eterne | lucis, Niniane superne.

Pr. Magnificat, etc.

Notandum est quod, si aliquod festum IX. lect. in aliqua feria quatuor temporum Septembris acciderit, totum servitium fiat de festo cum missa ejusdem festi IX. lect., ad principale altare. Si vero aliquod festum trium lectionum in aliqua feria predicta quatuor temporum Septembris acciderit, fiant matutini de festo cum noctur. Et missa de jejunio, cum memoria de festo ad missam de jejunio: nisi historia. Peto Domine: per hebdomadem cantanda sit: tunc enim non dicantur de sancto III. lectio, sed de feria matuti. fiant ut percantetur historia: et festum trium lectionum omnino prætermittatur. etc.

VITÆ COLUMBÆ.



VITA COLUMBÆ
AUCTORE CUMMINEO ALBO.

VITA COLUMBÆ.¹

CAPUT I.

Nativitas Columbæ. Angelus apparet matri ejus ferens peplum floribus depictum.²

SANCTUS igitur Columba sanctorum natione plurimis ad salutem, oriundus, tale noscitur habuisse nativitatis exordium. Angelus enim Domini genitrici ejus in somnis quadam nocte inter conceptum et partum apparens, quasi quoddam miræ pulchritudinis peplum, assistens detulit, in quo nimirum veluti universorum decorosi florum colores depicti videbantur. Quod etiam post aliquod breve intervallum ejus de manibus reposcens, abstulit, elevansque et expandens in aere demisit vacuo. Illa vero terrificata de sublato peplo, sic ad illum venerandi habitus virum: Cur, ait, a me lætificum tam cito

¹ Mabillon's title is "Vita S. Columbæ Abbatis Hyensis in Anglia Auctore Cummineo Albo perantique ex Cod. Compendiensi Monasterii." The capita correspond to Mabillon's paragraphs. The tituli are Pinkerton's.

² Vide Vitam Columbæ ab Adamnano descriptam, quæ sequitur in hoc volumine, lib. III., c. 1. Hoc opusculum Cuminii allegatur ab Adamnano qui floruit circa A.D. 680, in lib. III.—*Pinkerton*. According to Dr. Reeves' *Chronicon Hyense*, compiled chiefly from the Irish Annals, the names of the first twelve Abbots with their dates and obits are as follows: 1. Columba, 563-597. *Ob.* June 9. 2. Baithene, 597-600. *Ob.* June 9. 3. Laisren, 600-605. *Ob.* September 16. 4. Fergna Brit. (Virgnous), 605-623. *Ob.* March 2. 5. Seghine, 623-652. *Ob.* August 12. 6. Suibhne, 652-657. *Ob.* January 11. 7. Cuimine Ailbhe, 657-669. *Ob.* February 24. 8. Failbhe, 669-679. *Ob.* March 22. 9. Adamnan, 679-704. *Ob.* September 23. 10. Conamhail, 704-710. *Ob.* September 11. 11. Dunchadh, 710-717. *Ob.* May 25. 12. Faelcu, 717-724. *Ob.* April 3. In the original note Pinkerton omitted Laisren.

abstrahis pallium? Ille consequenter: Idcirco, inquit, quia hoc sagum alicujus est tam magnifici honoris, ut apud te diutius retineri non possit. Quibus dictis, prædictum peplum mulier paulatim a se elongari volando videbat, camporumque latitudinem in majus crescendo excedere, montesque et saltus majore sui mensura superare, vocemque hujusmodi subsequutam audierat: Mulier noli contristari; viro enim matrimoniali juncta, talem filium editura es floridum qui, quasi unus prophetarum Dei, inter ipsos connumerabitur; innumerabiliumque dux animarum ad coelestem patriam a Deo est prædestinatus. In hac ergo audita voce mulier expergiscitur.

CAPUT II.

Globus ignis apparet supra Columbæ faciem.¹

POST editam quoque prolem beati pueri nutritor spectabilis vitæ vir presbyter missa finita ab ecclesia ad hospitium reversus totam invenit domum suam clara irradiatam luce: globum quippe igneum super pueruli dormientis faciem stantem vidit. Quo viso statim intremuit; et, prostrata corpore in terram miratus, Spiritus Sancti gratiam super eum intellexit cœlitus effusam.

CAPUT III.

Angelus comes ejus.²

QUODAM namque tempore vir sanctus sanctum episcopum Finnianum,³ suum magistrum, juvenis senem adiit: quem

¹ Adamnan III., 2.

² Ibid. III. 4.

³ Finnianus Episcopus Clonardæ in Hibernia fuit vir doctus. Decessit A.D. 552. *Ware. Script. Hib.* p. 10.—*Pinkerton.* The Annals of Ulster record his death under 548. In the Calendar he is commemorated at Dec. 12.

denique appropinquantem cernens, angelum Domini pariter ejus comitem itineris vidit, et quibusdam astantibus intimavit fratribus, inquit: Ecce nunc videte sanctum advenientem Columbam, qui sui commeatus habere meruit angelum Domini.

CAPUT IV.

*Aquam in vinum convertit.**

HIISDEM diebus Sanctus, cum duodecim commilitonibus discipulis ad Britanniam transnavigavit. Quo proveniens quadam solemnī die sancto magistro suo et episcopo Finniano missam celebranti vinum ad sacrificale mysterium casu non inveniebatur. De cujus defectu cum ministros altaris inter se conquerentes audiret, ad fontem sumpto vergit urceo, ut ad sacra Eucharistiæ ministeria aquam fontanam diaconus hauriret. Qua hausta ministris ait: Habetis ergo vinum quod Dominus ad sua misit peragenda mysteria. Quo cognito Sanctus cum ministris episcopus eximias Deo gratias referunt. Sanctus vero juvenis hoc non sibimet sed sancto Finniano adscribebat episcopo.

CAPUT V.

*Aidanum in Regem consecrat; et futura de filiis ejus prædicit.**

ALIO in tempore vir sanctus, in Hymba³ commorans insula, quadam nocte in extasi mentis angelum Domini ad se missum

* Adamn. II. 1.

* Ibid. III. 5.

³ "Himba insula est maris Hibernici, cujus de situ insulæ, sicut et Jovæ (quem alii Hionam seu Ihonam vocant,) non una est Scriptorum sententia." Sic editores Benedictini. Sed situ Hyonæ nil notius. Himba hucusque mihi latet.—*Pinkerton*. Identified by Dr. Skene with Eilean-na-Naoimh. Adamnan, pp. 318-324. Edit. 1874.

vidit, qui in manu vitreum ordinationis regum habebat librum, quem de manu angeli accipiens legere cœpit. Qui secundum commendatum, Aidanum³ in regem ordinare recusans (magis enim fratrem ejus diligebat) subito angelus extendens manum, Sanctum percussit flagello. Cujus livoris vestigium in ejus latere omnibus diebus vitæ suæ permansit. Hocque intulit verbum: Pro certo scias me a Deo missum, ut Aidanum in regem ordines. Quod si non vis, percutiam te iterato. Eadem itaque, per tres continuas noctes, angelus Domini commendans de Aidani ordinatione, Sanctus ad Dei Jovam transnavigavit Insulam, ibidemque Aidanum adventantem in regem ordinavit. Inter ordinationis quoque verba, de filiis et nepotibus pronepotibusque ejus futura prophetavit, imponensque manum super caput ejus ordinans benedixit; intulitque hæc verba: Indubitanter crede, O Aidane, quoniam nullus adversariorum tuorum tibi poterit resistere donec prius fraudem agas in me et in posteros meos. His eisdem verbis alloquere filios tuos, ne regnum perdant. Quod si non obaudierint flagellum quod causa tui ab angelo Dei sustinui, in eos retorquetur. Quod ita factum est: mandatum namque viri Dei transgredientes, regnum perdiderunt.⁴

³ De eo infra, cap. 25. Regnavit Aidanus filius Gabrani, Rex Dalriadæ, ab anno 575 usque ad an. 605.—*Pinkerton*. "Ædan rex Scottorum qui Brittaniam inhabitant," Bede, H. E. i. 34. He was appointed or ordained king in 574, by St. Columba, and died in 606.

⁴ Circa A.D. 642 cum Conalus II. regnum Dalriadæ suscepit.—*Pinkerton*. Cf. Adamnan III. 5, where it is said that the prophecy was fulfilled at the battle of Roth, which took place in the year 637. The words "regnum perdiderunt" may, as Dr. Reeves suggests, "refer to the departure of the sceptre from the house of Gabhran to that of Loarn which took place when Ferchar Fada succeeded Maelduin," Adamn. 202. This event occurred, according to Chalmers, in 681, and according to the Irish Annals, in 689. In either case, as Cumman died in 669, the words must on this hypothesis be an interpolation. On the other hand they may refer to the death of Donald Brec at the battle of Strathcarron, in 642, and the subsequent subjugation of the Britons of Strathclyde and the Dalriadic kingdom by Oswy. Assuming that this is the event to which the words refer, there is no need for regarding them as an interpolation. The Irish Annalists record no king of Dalriada after Donald Brec.

CAPUT VI.

Monachi animam cœlo receptam vidit.¹

ALIO quoque tempore vir sanctus in Jova commorans Insula, quidam bonorum actuum monachus ad extrema perductus est. Quem cum in hora sui exitus visitaret, vir Dei paulisper ejus assistens lectulo, eique benedicens, ocius domum egreditur, nolens videre morientem, qui eodem momento de medio factus est. Tunc ergo vir sanctus, in monasterii sui platea deambulans cœlo intentus oculis valde obstupescens admirabatur. Tantæ ergo admirationis causam interrogare ausus est eum unus ex fratribus qui solus tunc aderat. Cui Sanctus: Nunc sanctos, ait, angelos contra adversarias potestates belligerare vidi; Christoque agonotheatæ gratias ago, quia victores angeli sancti animam hujus peregrini cœlo receperunt. Sed hoc quæso sacramentum, dum advixero, nemini reveles.

CAPUT VII.

Mors Sancti Brendani revelata.²

QUADAM itidem die summo mane Sanctus suum advocat ministratorem Diormetium, inquiens ita: Sacræ celeriter eucharistiæ ministeria præparentur; hodie enim natalis beati Brendani est dies. Quare, ait minister, talia præcipis? Nul- lus enim ejus obitus præcessit nuncius de Scotia. Vade, inquit Sanctus, meæ obsecundare jussioni. Hac enim præterita nocte vidi subito apertum cœlum angelorumque choros

¹ Adamn. III. 6.

² Adamn. III. 11, Obiit Brendanus, A. D. 577. *Ware, Script. Hib.—Pinkerton.* Other dates are also given for his death: Tighernach, 565 and 573; An. Ulster, 564 and 571; An. Inisfall. 565. Ussher and the Four Masters give 571. Dr. Reeves prefers A. D. 573. He died in his eightieth year, the night before November 29, which is his day.

sancti Brendani animæ obvios descendere, quorum luminosa incomparabilique claritate totus eadem hora illustratus est mundi orbis.

CAPUT VIII.

Mors S. Columbani, episcopi Lagenensis, revelata.¹

ALIA etiam die, dum fratres ad opera manuum exituri essent, Sanctus e contra die otiari præcepit sacræque oblationis obsequia præparari et aliquam prandioli adjectionem fieri. Me etiam, inquit, sacra oportet eucharistiæ celebrare mysteria, pro anima sancta quæ nocte in hac inter angelos vecta est. Fratres obsequuntur et ea die otiantur, et ad ecclesiam, quasi die solemni abbate cum Sancto pergunt. Et inter sacra sancti sacrificii mysteria: Hodie, ait Sanctus, pro sancto Columbano episcopo decantandum est. Tunc ergo astantes intellexere fratres, quod Columbanus episcopus Lagenensis,² carus Columbæ amicus, ad Dominum emigraverit. Et post aliquod intervallum aliqui de Lagenica commeantes provincia ea nocte eundem obisse nuntiant episcopum, qua Sanctus dixit.

CAPUT IX.

Cum daemonibus pugnat Columba.³

REMOTIOREM ergo ab hominibus locum aptumque orationi quæsivit Sanctus in saltibus. Ibidemque cum oraret quadam

¹ Adamn. III. 12. Alius est hic Columbanus ab illo, patria Lageniensi, qui floruit in Gallia et Italia circa A.D. 610. Nomen est usitatissimum antiquis Hibernis.—*Pinkerton*. Columbanus is more commonly known as Colmanus. He is the Colman-eala and Colmonellus of the Irish Calendars and of the Regist. de Passelet and Regist. Episc. Glasg., and the patron saint of Kilcolmonell on the east of Knapdale in Argyleshire and of Colmonell in Ayrshire. His day is Sept. 26.

² Lagina oppidum in Laginia regione, patria S. Brigittæ Virginis. Edit. Ben. But as Dr. Reeves observes Diocesan Episcopacy was at this time unknown in Ireland. S. Columbanus was a bishop *in*, not *of*, Leinster.

³ Adamn. III. 8.

die subito vidit contra se nigerrimam dæmonum aciem cum ferreis præliari verubus : qui sicuti sancto viro per Spiritum erat revelatum, monasterium ejus invadere et multos ex fratribus jugulare volebant sudibus. Ipse vero contra eos dimicabat, et ita ex majori diei parte utrimque dimicatum est. Nec tamen innumeri unum vincere potuerunt : donec angeli Dei in adminiculum affuere ; quorum timore loco cessere, ut post ipse Sanctus fratribus intimavit.

CAPUT X.

*In Hyona manens, fratri in Hibernia, de culmine domus labenti, ope angeli, subvenit.**

ALIO in tempore dum in tugurio suo vir Domini scribens sederet, subito immutata est ejus facies et hanc puro de pectore promit vocem, dicens : Auxiliare ! auxiliare ! Duo autem fratres, ad januam stantes, subitæ vocis interrogabant causam. Quibus vir sanctus hoc dedit responsum : Angelo Domini, qui nunc inter nos stabat, jussi ut cuidam ex fratribus, de culmine domus lapso quæ fabricatur tam cito subveniret. Hocque consequenter Sanctus intulit : Valde admirabilis et pene indicibilis, est angelici volatus pernitas, fulgureæ ut æstimo celeritati parilis. Nam ille cœlicola qui hinc a nobis illi nunc viro labi incipienti advolavit, quasi in ictu oculi priusquam terram tangeret subveniens eum sublevavit ; nec ullam fracturam sensit. Quam stupenda, inquam, et opportuna subventio, quæ dicto citius tantis interjacentibus terris et aquis tam celerrime effici potuit.

CAPUT XI.

Conversat cum Angelis.

QUODAM in tempore uno dierum fratribus congregatis dixit sanctus Dei Columba : Hodie ego in occidentalem campum

* Ibid. III. 15.

* Ibid. III. 16.

nostræ insulæ,¹ solus exire cupio, nemo ex vobis me sequatur. Quibus obsecundantibus, solus quidem ut voluit egreditur, sed frater quidam callidus explorator alia means via occultabat se in montis vertice explorare cupiens quod et vidit non sine permissu Dei Sanctum suum mirificantis. Nam in monte stantem et expansis ad cœlum manibus orantem, oculosque in altum elevantem vidit: mirum dictum! et ecce subito res miranda apparuit. Denique sancti angeli mira advolantes subitatione, sanctum virum orantem circumstare cœperunt albatis induti vestibus, et miscentes cum beato colloquia, quasi explorantem sentientes, ad summa repedabant. Beatus et ipse post angelicum condictum monasterio se tradidit, et collectis fratribus transgressionis obnoxium non mediocri objurgatione quæsivit. Ille ergo conscius sibi inexcusabilis transgressor reum se confitetur, veniamque flexis genibus precatur: quem Sanctus seorsum ducens, ingeniculanti cum grandi commendat comminatione, ne cui in vita sua hominum dicat quod vidit. Paruit interim frater, sed post obitum ejus fratribus quæ viderat, cum grandi protestatione intimavit. Locus autem illius angelicæ conductionis Colliculus Angelorum² usque hodie dicitur.

CAPUT XII.

*Igneus globus ascendit de capite ejus.*³

ALIO quoque tempore quatuor fratres visitandi gratia sanctum Columbam adeunt de Scotia in Hymba commanentem insula: qui uno eodemque consensu Sanctum sacra celebrare mysteria invitant precibus: quod et fecit quadam die Dominica. Sed illi post Evangelii recitationem viderunt quemdam igneum globum et valde luminosum, de vertice

¹ Hyonæ, nunc Icolmkill.

² Cnoc Angel. See Adamn. III., 16 and note. A place in Wales is called Mons Angelorum. Rees, *Cambr. Brit. SS.*, pp. 10, 295.

³ Adamn. III. 17.

sancti Columbæ ante altare stantis et sacram oblationem consecrantis tamdiu ardere, et ad instar alicujus columnæ sursum ascendere donec eadem perficerentur sacrosancta mysteria.

CAPUT XIII.

Cælestibus visionibus per tres dies fruitur.¹

ALIO etiam tempore in eadem commanente insula viro sancto, gratia Sancti Spiritus super eum abunde et incomparabiliter effusa per triduum mirabiliter mansit; ita ut per tres dies totidemque noctes intra obseratam et repletam cœlesti claritudine domum manens, nullum ad se accedere permetteret, neque manducans, neque bibens. De qua etiam domo immensæ claritatis radii per rimulas valvarum et clavorum foramina erumpentes, nocte videbantur, carminaque spiritualia et ante inaudita decantari ab eo audiebantur. Sed et multa quædam, ut post coram professus est, et obscura scripturarum et ignorata hominibus mysteria in eo loco discere meruit.

CAPUT XIV.

Pauperis inopiam veru benedicto levat.²

QUODAM igitur tempore quidam ad Sanctum plebeius venit pauperrimus, conquestans quod unde maritam et parvulos cibaret non habebat. Cui compatiens benignus Dei famulus: Miselle, ait, homuncio, de vicina silva tolle contulum, et ad me ocius defer. Cui parens ivit, et attulit. Quem Sanctus excipiens in veru exacuit, et propria manu benedixit et inopi dedit, dicens: Hoc veru diligenter custodi, quod homini nec pecori nocebit, sed tantum feris et bestiis et piscibus et

¹ Ibid. III., 184.

² Ibid. II., 37.

quamdiu hoc habueris, non deerit domui tuæ omnino caro cervina. Quo audito mendicus lætus domum revertitur: veru quoque in remotis terræ infixit locis, quæ silvestres feræ frequentabant, et vicina nocte transacta mane primo pergit visitatum veru in quo cervum transfixum invenit. Quid multis? Nulla transierat dies, quin cervum, aut cervam, aut aliam bestiam veru caperet. Tota quippe domus ejus de ferinis carnibus abundabat. Sed fatua ejus mulier persuasu diaboli pervasa marito sic ait post non multos dies: Tolle ergo de terra veru, poterit enim quispiam hominum aut domesticorum pecorum, strangulari in eo, et ego et tu, cum liberis nostris, captivi ducemur, aut servituti subjiciemur. Non ita, inquit maritus, fiet; nam sanctus Dei hoc interminatus est nulli hominum nec pecori nociturum. Tamen consentiens uxori tulit veru de terra et intra domum ejus secus parietem posuit, in quo mox domesticus ejus canis incidens periit. Quo pereunte rursus ait marita: Unus, ait, filiorum tuorum incidet in sudem, et peribit. Propter quod maritus veru, de pariete removens ad silvam reportat et in densis infixit dumis ut nullum læderet. Sed postera die reversus capream in eo cecidisse reperit. Inde quoque illud removens sub aquis abscondit et infixit. Quod alia revisens die esocem in eo invenit, retentum ingentem quem vix solus portare potuit. Tunc etiam veru supra tectum infixit in quo corvus advolans casu jugulatus est. Quo facto mendicus jam dives factus et conjugis consilio depravatus, veru de tecto tollens, arrepta securi in plures particulas concidit ignique tradidit, et statim pauper factus est.

CAPUT XV.

In ecclesia cælesti luce circumfunditur.¹

QUADAM quoque hiemali nocte sanctus Fernaus² ecclesiam,

¹ Ibid. III., 19.

² Forte Abbas Hyensis, A.D. 598, et aliter Virgnous dictus; nam V et F in lingua Celtica commutantur.—*Pinkerton*. In the Munich MS. of Adamnan (Dr. Reeves' F.) Virgnous occurs instead Fernaus. The Belfort *Vita* reads Servanus.

orationis studio solus intrans in quadam exedra devotus orabat. Cujus rei sanctus Columba nescius eadem de causa post illum ecclesiam ingreditur, simulque cum eo aurea lux de cœlo descendens totam replevit ecclesiam. Sed et illius exedræ separatam conclave ubi Fernaus latitabat illud cœleste lumen formidabili timore repleverat; et sicut nullus æstivum et meridianum solem rectis et irreverberatis oculis potest intueri; sic et illam cœlestem claritatem Fernaus sustinere non potuit. Quo denique fulminali splendore viso, nihil in eo virtutis remansit. Sanctus vero Columba post non prolixam orationem ecclesiam egreditur, Fernaumque ad se crastina advocat die, hisque compellat affatibus consolatoriis: O filiule! hac præterita nocte in conspectu Dei placuisti, oculos ad terram deprimendo timore lucis. Nam, si ita non fecisses, oculi tui visa luce obcæcarentur, sed dum vixero stude hanc celare visionem.

C A P U T X V I.

Prolatur vita Columbæ ad preces ecclesiæ.¹

ALIO autem tempore vir Domini in Jova commorans Insula, quadam die sancta facies ejus subita hilaritate effloruit, oculosque ad cœlum elevans valde lætificabatur, post modicum autem intervallum tristificabatur. Duo autem fratres ad januam stantes causam subitæ inquirunt lætitiæ et illius subsequentis mœstitiæ. Ad quos Sanctus: Ite, inquit, in pace, non dicam. Qui cum ei nimium pro hac re indicanda, molesti essent. Si celaveritis, inquit, prodam vobis, quia amo vos. Quibus fidem dantibus, sic ad eos proloquitur: Usque in præsentem diem meæ peregrinationis in Britannia terdeni completi sunt anni. Petivi quoque a Domino, ut in fine tricesimi hujus anni dissolverer, et cum ipso essem, et hæc fuit causa lætitiæ, super qua molestatis. Angelos etiam sanctos vidi, egressuræ animæ de carne obvios. Sed ecce stant

¹ Adamn. III., 22. .

procul subito retardati propius accedere non permissi, quia Dominus quod mihi rogante donavit in hac die fieri, multarum ecclesiarum pro me orationes exaudiens, dicto citius immutavit: quibus scilicet ecclesiis exorantibus, sic a Domino donatum est, ut quatuor ab hac die anni addantur mihi in carne manendi. Hæc ergo retardatio causa mihi mœstitiæ fuit. Quibus videlicet quatuor annis terminatis subita emigratione ad Dominum lætus emigrabo.

CAPUT XVII.

Mortis suæ horam prædicit; et Hyonam benedicit.¹

SECUNDUM hæc ergo verba vir Dei quatuor annis postea in carne vixit, quibus transactis quadam die, mense Maio senio fessus plaustroque vectus, visitatum pergit operarios fratres, ad quos ita loqui exorsus est: In Paschali solemnitate nuper Aprili peracta mense, desiderio desideravi ad Christum emigrare: sed ne vobis lætitiæ festivitas in tristitiam verteretur, diem obitus paullo diutius protelare malui. His auditis fratres haud modicum contristati sunt. Vir autem Domini, ut erat in vehiculo sedens, ad orientem faciem suam convertens, insulam cum insulanis habitatoribus benedixit, et ex ea die vipera nulla nec homini, nec pecori nociva fuit. Post verba tandem benedictionis Sanctus ad suum monasterium revehitur.

CAPUT XVIII.

Angelum vidit.²

TRANSACTIS autem paucis diebus dum missarum solemnia ex more Dominica die celebrarentur, subito sursum elevatis oculis facies beati Columbæ florido respersa rubore videtur.

¹ Ibid. III., 23.

² Ibid., III., 23.

Eadem quippe hora angelum Domini supra volitantem solus vidit, intra ipsius oratorii parietes. Hæc enim causa fuit illius subitæ lætitiæ, de qua cum præsentēs inquirerent, hoc eis Sanctus responsum dedit: Mira et incomparabilis angelicæ naturæ subtilitas! Ecce enim angelus Domini, pro cuiusdam missus depositione Deo cari, nos desuper intra ecclesiam aspiens et benedicens, rursus per parosticiam¹ ecclesiæ reversus nulla talis exitus reliquit vestigia. Hæc Sanctus seipsum significans dicebat: Quod tamen fratres tunc temporis ignorabant, postea vero sciebant.

CAPUT XIX.

Diem suæ mortis Diormetio monstrat.²

VIR itaque sanctus in fine ejusdem hebdomadis, hoc est die sabbati, ministro suo Diormetio clam vocato sic præfatur: In sacris voluminibus hæc dies sabbatum nuncupatur quod requies interpretatur. Et vere mihi est hodierna dies sabbatum, quia vitæ ultima mihi est, in qua post meorum laborum molestias, sabbatizo, et hac sequenti Dominica nocte patrum viam gradiar. Jam enim Christus me invitat et sic mihi ab ipso revelatum est. Minister hinc contristatur, sed a patre consolatur. Inde ergo sanctus Dei egrediens et montem monasterio supereminentem ascendens in vertice ejus paululum stetit, et elevatis manibus cœnobium suum benedixit, et de præsentibus et futuris multa prophetavit quæ postea eventus probavit.

¹ Forte posticiam; Mabillon. [In Adamnan, III., 23, we have *parasticia* and *parusticia*, which the Bollandists explain by *posticum*, *fenestella*. Du Cange, like Mabillon, proposes *posticia*. Colgan's version of O'Donnell represents it by "per ecclesiæ parietem" (III., 49, Tr. Th., p. 440 a). "But none of these interpretations," Dr. Reeves observes, "conveys the author's meaning, who describes the angel as *over* the congregation, and introduced in such a way as to show the *subtilitas* of angelic nature, that is, through substance impermeable to material beings. The second part of the *Vita Secunda* in Colgan . . . sets the matter at rest, by reading in the parallel place 'per *culmen* ecclesiæ,' cap. 30, (Tr. Th., p. 329 a.)"] Ecclesiæ tunc apud Hibernos fuere parvæ, in formam quadræ oblongæ redactæ, et viminibus fabricatæ.—*Finkerton*. See *Vita Niniani*, c. 3, n. 3.

² Adamn., III., 23.

CAPUT XX.

Hora mortis instante, psalmi divisionem facit.¹

POST hæc de illo descendens monte et ad monasterium reversus, sedebat in cella psalterium scribens. Denique ad illum tricesimi tertii Psalmi versiculum perveniens, ubi scribitur, Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono, ait: Hic a me cessandum existimo: Barthaneo² quæ sequuntur perscribenda. Convenienter enim Sancto novissimus versiculus, quem scripserat congruebat, cui veraciter æterna bona nunquam deficient. Successori, vero id est spiritualium patri filiorum, haud minus decenter sequens convenit, Venite filii, audite me, timorem Domini docebo vos. Hic enim sicut decessor commendavit non solum scribendo, sed etiam in regimine monasterii laborando, successit.

CAPUT XXI.

Verba novissima Columbæ.³

POST talem igitur terminatæ paginæ versum perscriptum, sanctam ecclesiam ad celebrandam Dominicæ noctis missam ingreditur: qua continuo consummata ad hospitium revertens, in lecto pernox resedit, ubi pro stramine nudam terram, pro pulvillo habebat lapidem, qui usque hodie juxta sepulchrum ejus, quasi quidam titulus monumenti perdurat. Itidem itaque residens novissima filiis verba commendabat: Inter vos, dicens, mutuam et non fictam caritatem cum pace semper habete: Dominus autem confortator bonorum vobis auxiliabitur et ego cum ipso manens pro vobis interpellabo, ut vobis temporalia, et æterna bona proveniant. His dictis sanctus Columba paulisper conticuit.

¹ Ibid. III., 23.

² Baithenus Columbæ successor in Abbatia Hyensi, A.D. 597.—*Pinkerton*. Mabillon prints *Barthaneo* both in the text and in the margin; but evidently for *Baitheno* or *Baithenea*.

³ Adamn., III., 23.

CAPUT XXII.

*Columba in ecclesia moritur.*¹

TUM proinde media nocte, pulsante campana, festinus surgens ad ecclesiam pergit; citiorque cæteris currens solus introgressus juxta altare flexis genibus in oratione procumbit. Diormetius autem minister tardius prosecutus eodem momento eminus totam ecclesiam angelica luce intrinsecus repletam vidit; quo ad januam appropinquante, eadem lux ocius recessit, prius tamen a fratribus visa nonnullis. Diormetius vero ecclesiam intrans flebili voce ingeminat: Ubi es Pater? ubi es Pater? Et necdum allatis lucernis a fratribus per tenebras palpans, Sanctum ante altare recubantem invenit. Quem paululum erigens et juxta sedens, sanctum caput gremio imposuit suo. Cæteri vero fratres occurrentes, et patrem mori cernentes, quem viventem dilexerant, morientem haud modice plangebant, Sanctus autem necdum egrediente anima, elevatis sursum oculis ad utrumque latus, læta facie circumspiciebat, et angelos sanctos adesse videbat. Diormetius vero ut fratres benediceret elevata illius dextera admonuit; sed et ipse Pater sanctus illud annuens in quantum poterat simul manum ipse levabat. Et post sanctam benedictionem taliter significatam, continuo spiritum exhalavit.² Facies quidem ejus rubens et mirum in modum ex angelica visione exhilarata interim remansit, ut non quasi mortui, sed dormientis videretur.

¹ Ibid. III., 23.

² Nempe anno D.XCVIII. ut scribit Matth. Westmon. Cui favet Beda; nam ait Columbam A. 565 in Britanniam venisse: et 34 annis permansit. Mortuus 9 Junii. Mabillon. Beda, III., 4, 32, non 34, annos habet: ergo mortuus est Columba A.D. 597, ineunte 9 Junii, die sabbati eo anno, ut ex Chronologis patet. Sed Adamnanus, vetustior et melior testis quam Beda, ait Columbam 34 annos in Britannia egisse, lib. i., c. 1., et lib. iii., c. 22, et doctissimus Usserius, in Ant. Brit. Eccl., p. 363, ostendit Columbam anno 563 venisse Britanniam. Certissime mortuus est Anno 597. Vide supra. c. 16.—*Pinkerton.*

CAPUT XXIII.

*Humatio.*¹

INTEREA post egressum sanctæ animæ, hymnis matutinalibus terminatis, sacrum corpus de ecclesia ad hospitium, cum canora fratrum psalmodio reportatur, ubi etiam ternis diebus cum totidem noctibus honorabiles exequiæ rite explentur. Quibus in Dei laudibus terminatis sanctum corpus mundis involutum sindonibus cum debita veneratione humatur, æternali claritudine quandoque resurrecturum.

CAPUT XXIV.

*Tempestas accidit diebus exiquialibus, sicut Sanctus prædixerat.*²

UNUS enim aliquando fratrum ad Sanctum: Totus, inquit, provinciarum populus post obitum tuum ad tuas conveniet exequias. Non, ait Sanctus, ut loqueris ita res probabit: nam promiscuum vulgus non meis presto erit exequiis: familiares mei solummodo monachi sepulchralia complebunt, et exequialia officio honestabunt. Quod ita factum est, nam per tres illas exequiales dies et noctes grandis sine pluvia facta est ventosa tempestas: qua prohibente nullus transnavigare pelagus potuit navicella, ut viri Dei ultima celebraret obsequia. Sepulto denique Sancto, vento cessante et sedata tempestate, quieverunt undæ marinæ: gloria tibi Domine. Amen.

CAPUT XXV.

*Laus Columbæ.*³ *Mortuum resuscitat. Lapis mirabilis. Aprum verbo occidit. Vaccas benedicit. Animas in cælum receptas vidit. Oswaldo Regi apparet. De Aidano Rege prædicit.*

PERPENDAT itaque lector quanti qualisque meriti ante Deum

¹ Adamn. III., 23.² Ibid. III., 23.³ Ibid. III., 23.

fuerit in excelsis, quem in terris ita prærogativa signorum et privilegio meritorum Deus mirificavit et post Apostolos donativum suæ gratiæ contradidit. Namque in carne ut angelus vivens tempestates sedavit, maria tranquillavit, ecclesiam sibi non apertam salva sera sine clave persæpe reseravit, imprimens tantum Dominicæ crucis effigiem. Post genculationem quandoque cum oratione fusam de terra surgens, in nomine Domini mortuum filium cujusdam plebei suscitavit, et post celebratas exequias patri et matri viventem repræsentat.¹ Lapis etiam ab eo aqua intinctus mirum in modum contra naturam aquis supernatat, nec sancti viri benedictio ullatenus potuit submergi. De quo natante quidam ægrotus bibit, et statim a vicina morte rediit, integramque carnis salutem recuperavit. Talis itaque lapis postea in thesauris Regis reconditus multas sanitates in populo effecit in digito Dei, quo benedictus erat per manum Columbæ viri Dei.² Silvam etiam ingressus miræ magnitudinis aprum obviat, quem forte venatici canes persequabantur: quo viso restitit Sanctus, et sancta manu elevata: Ulterius, inquit, hinc noli procedere, in loco eodem morere: et mortuus est.³ Quinque etiam cujusdam mendici vacculas benedixit, et in centenarium et quinarium numerum procedere jussit, et erat in filiis et nepotibus ejus hæc florida benedictio.⁴ Justorum autem quorundam animas ab angelis in cælum ferri, et reproborum ad inferna a dæmonibus deponi, hic Sanctus sæpenumero aspiciebat.⁵ Oswaldum⁶ quoque regem in procinctu belli castra metatum, et in sua papilionæ supra pulvillum dormientem allocutus est, et ad

¹ Ibid. II., 32.

² Ibid. II., 33.

³ Ibid. II., 26.

⁴ Ibid. II., 21.

⁵ Supra, c. 6, etc. Adamn. III., 6, 7, etc.

⁶ Cum Oswaldus Edwino, Osricho rejecto, in regnum successerit anno 633, ex Beda, lib. 2, c. ult., qui fieri potuit ut S. Columba, 598 mortuus, Oswaldum regem sit allocutus? nisi id forte post mortem præstitisse dicatur. Mabillon. Observatio nimis insipida; nam quis unquam audivit virum viventem, alium dormientem, allocutum fuisse? Oswaldus hic Totius Britannię Imperator audit, quia potentissimus fuit rex in Britannia. Vide Bed. II., 5, de aliis regibus qui hanc gloriam meruerunt. —*Pinkerton.*

bellum procedere jussit. Qui jubenti paruit: et victoriam promeruit. Reversus quoque postea totius Britanniae Imperator a Deo ordinatur, et tota gens illa prius incredula baptizatur,⁷ totum etiam mundum veluti uno solis radio collectum sinu meritis mirabiliter laxato manifeste perspiciens speculabatur. Quadam etiam die Sanctus Dei ministro suo campanam subito pulsare praecepit, cujus sonitu fratres incitati ecclesiam protinus sunt ingressi. Quibus Sanctus: Pro Aidano,⁸ ait, et populo ejus, preces fundite ad Dominum. Et post intervallum egressus caeloque intendens, ait: Nunc barbara manus in fugam vertitur, Aidanoque victoria conceditur: sed et de numero exercitus trecentorum et trium virorum interfectorum prophetiae spiritu narravit.⁹

CAPUT XXVI.

Miraculum per tunicam ejus factum.¹

POST mortem viri Dei grandis facta est verno tempore siccitas. Fratres autem imminentem plagam pertimescentes, candidam tunicam beati viri, qua in hora exitus sui indutus erat, in aere levaverunt, terque excusserunt, et libros manu ipsius descriptos legerunt. Quae omnia rite peracta, mirum dictu! eadem die pluvia vehemens facta sitientem terram irrigavit, laetasque segetes eodem anno protulit.

CAPUT XXVII.

Puerum benedicit.²

QUADAM etiam hora cum Sanctus fratrum molestaretur constipatione, quidam valde despectus vultu et habitu puer clam

⁷ Adamn. I., 1.

⁸ Aidani Scotorum Regis meminit Beda, A. 603. Mab.

⁹ Adamn. I., 6.

¹ Ibid., II., 44.

² Ibid., I., 3.

retro accessit, ut vel illius amphibali¹ fimbriam quo vestiebatur, ipso nesciente, tangeret. Quod tamen Sanctum non latuit; nam post se manus extendens, cervicem pueri tenuit. Quo tremefacto, ait Sanctus: Aperi os et linguam porrige. Quod puer faciens, Sanctus eum extensa manu benedixit, et astantibus dixit: Hic puer nunc despicabilis vobis, ab hac hora prænominatus in tota Scotia erit, sapientia, eloquentia, bonis moribus, et virtutum ubertate pollebit. Quod et ita, juxta sancti sui prophetiam Dominus complevit ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui, cui est honor et gloria in sæcula. Amen.

¹ Amphibalum, vestis laxæ genus corpus undique ambiens. In lib. 2, Dial. Sulp. Sev. de Vita S. Martini, c. 1. "Sanctus, paupere non vidente intra amphibalum sibi tunicam latenter educit," etc. Mab.—Dr. Reeves explains it as "a kind of cowl." See his Glossary to Adamnan, also Du Cange *s.v.*

VITA
SANCTI COLUMBÆ
AUCTORE ADAMNANO.

VITA SANCTI COLUMBÆ.

INCIPIT PRÆFATIO IN VITAM SANCTI COLUMBÆ EPISCOPI.¹

BEATI nostri Patroni, Christo suffragante, vitam descripturus, fratrum flagitationibus obsecundare volens, in primis eandem lecturos quosque admonere procurabo, ut fidem dictis adhibeant compertis, et res magis quam verba perpendant, quæ, ut æstimo, inculta et vilia esse videntur; meminerintque regnum Dei non in eloquentiæ exuberantia, sed in fidei florulentia constare; et nec ob aliqua Scoticæ,² vilis videlicet linguæ, aut humana onomata, aut gentium, obscura locorumve vocabula, quæ, ut puto, inter alias exterarum³ gentium diversas vilescunt linguas, utilium, et non sine divina opitulatione gestarum, despiciant rerum pronuntiationem. Sed et hoc lectorem admonendum putavimus, quod de beatæ memoriæ viro plura, studio brevitatis, etiam memoria digna, a nobis sint prætermissa, et quasi pauca de plurimis ob evitandum fastidium lectorum, sint caraxata.⁴ Et hoc, ut arbitror, quisque hæc lecturus forte annotabit, quod minima de maximis per populos⁵ fama, de eodem beato viro divulgata, disperserit, ad horum etiam paucorum comparisonem, quæ nunc breviter caraxare disponimus. Hinc, post hanc primam præfatiunculam, de nostri vocamine præsulis in exordio secundæ, Deo auxiliante, intimare exordiar.

¹ Cod. Cott. The MS. Regius wants about a quaternio at the beginning, and begins abruptly in the middle of I. 3, at “-ro pectore verba.” To make up for the deficiency, Pinkerton used the imperfect text of Canisius. Here the texts of Colgan, the Bollandists, and Dr. Reeves, have been consulted.

² That is, Hibernicæ.

³ Col. and Boll. have externarum.

⁴ exarare, Col. and Boll.

⁵ plurimos, Cod. Cott.

IN NOMINE JESU CHRISTI
SECUNDA ORDITUR PRÆFATIO.

Vir erat vitæ venerabilis et beatæ memoriæ, monasteriorum pater et fundator,⁶ cum Iona propheta homonymum⁷ sortitus nomine; nam licet diverso trium diversarum sono linguarum, unam tamen eandemque rem significat hoc, quod Hebraice dicitur Iona,⁸ Græcitas vero ΙΕΡΟΘΗΡΑ⁹ vocitat, et Latina lingua Columba¹⁰ nuncupatur. Tale tantumque vocabulum homini Dei non sine divina inditum¹ providentia creditur. Nam et juxta Evangeliorum fidem Spiritus Sanctus super Unigenitum æterni Patris descendisse monstratur in forma illius aviculæ, quæ columba dicitur: unde plerumque in sanctis² libris columba mystice Spiritum Sanctum significare dignoscitur. Proinde et Salvator in Evangelio suo præcepit discipulis ut columbarum in corde puro insertam simplicitatem continerent; columba etenim simplex et innocens est avis. Hoc itaque vocamine et homo simplex innocensque nuncupari debuit qui in se columbinis moribus Spiritui Sancto hospitium præbuit: cui nomini non inconvenienter congruit illud quod in Proverbiis scriptum est: Melius est nomen bonum quam divitiæ multæ.³ Hic igitur noster præsul non immerito, non solum a diebus infantiae hoc vocabulo, Deo donante, adornatus, proprio ditatus est, sed etiam præmissis multorum cyclis annorum ante suæ nativitatis diem cuidam Christi militi, Spiritu revelante Sancto,

⁶ According to Jocelin, he was the founder of a hundred monasteries. O'Donnell in his *Vit.*, III., 42. (*Tr. Th.*, p. 438,) makes him the founder of three hundred monasteries and churches in Ireland and Britain, of which one hundred were on the coast. Colgan (*Tr. Th.*, pp. 493-495,) enumerates sixty-six, of which he was either directly or indirectly the founder.

⁷ C. omonimon, A. D. F. Cod. Cott.

⁸ The word יוֹנָה occurs in the Old Testament both as a proper name and as a common noun signifying a dove.

⁹ So Cod. Cott. Following Canisius, Pinkerton printed ΝΗΙΘΗΤΑ, adding in a note "Quod ΝΗΙΘΗΤΑ hic vult non video."

¹⁰ Other forms of the name are Columb, Columbus, Columbanus. By the Irish he was called Columcille, i.e., Colum of the churches. He is said by Irish writers to have been christened Crimthann, a fox.

¹ indutum, Cod. Cott.

² Cod. Cott.

³ Prov., xxii., 1.

quasi filius repromissionis mirabili prophetatione nominatus est. Nam quidam proselytus Britto, homo sanctus, sancti Patricii episcopi discipulus, Maucteus⁴ nomine, ita de nostro prophetizavit Patrono, sicuti nobis ab antiquis traditum expertis compertum habetur. In novissimis, ait, sæculi, temporibus filius nasciturus est, cujus nomen Columba per omnes insularum oceani provincias divulgabitur notum; novissimaque orbis tempora clare illustrabit. Mei et ipsius duorum monasteriorum agelluli unius sepisculæ intervallo disternabuntur: et ille⁵ homo valde Deo carus, et grandis coram ipso meriti. Hujus igitur nostri Columbæ vitam et mores describens, in primis brevi sermonis textu, in quantum valuerō, strictim comprehendam, et ante lectoris oculos sanctam ejus conversationem pariter exponam. Sed et de miraculis ejus succincte quædam, quasi legentibus avide prægustanda, ponam; quæ tamen inferius, per tres divisa libros, plenius explicabuntur. Quorum Primus propheticas revelationes; Secundus vero divinas per ipsum virtutes effectas; Tertius angelicas apparitiones, continebit, et quasdam super hominem Dei cœlestis claritudinis manifestationes. Nemo itaque me de hoc tam prædicabili viro aut mentitum æstimet, aut quasi, quædam dubia vel incerta scripturum: sed ea quæ majorum fideliumque virorum tradita expertorum congrua⁶ relatione narraturum, et sine ulla ambiguitate caraxaturum sciat, et vel ex his quæ ante nos inserta paginis reperire potuimus, vel ex his quæ auditu ab expertis quibusdam fidelibus antiquis, sine ulla dubitatione narrantibus, diligentius sciscitantes didicimus.

SANCTUS igitur Columba nobilibus fuerat oriundus genitibus, patrem habens Fedilmithum filium Ferguso;⁷ matrem Aethneam⁷ nomine, cujus pater Latine Filius Navis dici potest, Scotica vero lingua Mac Nave. Hic anno secundo post

⁴ Macteus, Cod. Cott. St. Mochta of Lughmagh or Louth. He is described as "ortus ex Britannia," and as landing at Omeath, in the county of Louth, with twelve followers. The Calendars commemorate him at Aug. 19. O'Donnell refers the prophecy to Iona, and represents St. Mochta as sojourning there before the settlement of Columba, but without reason. See Dr. Reeves' *Adamn.*, p. 7, note 1.

⁵ Cod. Cott.

⁶ cognovi, Cod. Cott.

⁷ Fergusi, Athneam, Cod. Cott.

Culedrebinæ bellum,⁸ ætatis vero suæ xlii., de Scotia ad Britanniam, pro Christo peregrinari volens,⁹ enavigavit. Qui et a puero Christiano deditus tirocinio, et sapientiæ studiis integritatem corporis et animæ puritatem, Deo donante, custodiens, quamvis in terra positus, cœlestibus se aptum moribus ostendebat. Erat enim aspectu angelicus, sermone nitidus, opere sanctus, ingenio optimus, consilio magnus, per annos xxxiv.¹⁰ insulanus miles conversatus. Nullum etiam unius horæ intervallum transire poterat, quo non aut orationi aut lectioni, vel scriptioni, vel etiam alicui operationi, incumberet. Jejunionum quoque et vigiliarum indefessis laboribus¹ sine ulla intermissione die noctuque ita occupatus, ut supra humanam possibilitatem uniuscujusque pondus specialis videretur operis. Et inter hæc omnibus carus, hilarem semper faciem ostendens sanctam, Spiritus Sancti gaudio intimis lætificabatur præcordiis.

NUNC PRIMI LIBRI CAPITULATIONES* ORDIUNTUR.

De virtutum miraculis brevis narratio.

De sancto FINTENO abbate, TAILCHANI filio, quomodo de ipso sanctus COLUMBA prophetavit.

De ERNENEO, filio CRASENI, prophetia ejus.

De adventu CAINNICHÍ quomodo pronuntiavit.

De periculo sancti COLMANI gente Mocusailni sancto COLUMBÆ revelato.

De CORMACO, nepote Letha prophetationes ejus.

De bellis.

De regibus.

⁸ The battle of Cooldrevny was fought in 561 A.D.

⁹ Hence it would appear that Columba left Ireland of his own accord. This opinion is confirmed by a passage from the Life in the Salamanca MS. Cap. 9. (*Tr. Th.*, p. 326, a.) But cf. III., 4, *infra*, where Adamnan says that he was excommunicated at a Synod held at Teltown in Meath. The excommunication, however, was not persisted in.

¹⁰ Bede says: "Post annos circiter triginta et duos ex quo ipse Britanniam prædicaturus adiit"—*H. E.* III., 4. But see III., 22, 23, *infra*.

¹ laborationibus, Cod. Cott.

* Those which follow are taken from Dr. Reeves' *Adamnan*.

- De duobus pueris secundum verbum ejus in fine septimanæ mortuis.
De COLCIO filio AIDO DRAIGNICHÆ, et de quodam occulto matris
ipsius peccato.
De signo mortis ejusdem viri prophetia sancti COLUMBÆ.
De LAISRANO hortulano.
De Ceto magno quomodo prophetavit.
De quodam BAITANO, qui cum cæteris ad maritimum remigavit
desertum.
De quodam NEMANO ficto poenitente qui postea secundum verbum
sancti carnem equæ furtivæ comedit.
De illo infelici viro qui cum sua genetrice peccavit.
De I vocali littera quæ una in Psalterio defuit.
De libro in hydriam cadente.
De corniculo atramenti inclinato.
De adventu alicujus AIDANI qui jejunium solvit.
De aliquo misero viro, qui ad fretum clamitabat, mox morituro.
De civitate Romanæ partis, super quam ignis de cælo cecidet.
De LAISRANO filio FERADAIG, quomodo monachos probavit in labore.
De FECHNO BINC.
De CAILTANO monacho.
De duobus peregrinis.
De ARTBRANANO sene, quem in Scia insula baptizavit.
De naviculæ transmotatione juxta stagnum Loch-diæ.
De GALLANO filio FACHTNI quem dæmones rapuere.
De LUGIDIO CLAUDO.
De ENANO filio GRUTH.
De presbitero qui erat in Triota.
De ERCO furunculo.
De CRONANO poeta.
De RONANO filio AIDO filii COLCEN, et COLMANO CANE filio AILENI,
prophetia Sancti.

INCIPIT LIBER DE VITA ET MIRACULIS
BEATI PATRIS COLUMBÆ.¹

CAPUT I.²

De Virtutum Miraculis Brevis Narratio.

VIR itaque venerandus qualia virtutum documenta dederit, in hujus libelli primordiis, secundum nostram præmissam superius promissiunculam, breviter sunt demonstranda. Diversorum namque infestationes morborum homines, in nomine Domini Jesu Christi virtute orationum, perpressos sanavit: dæmonumque infestas ipse unus homo, et innumeras contra se belligerantes catervas, oculis corporalibus visas, et incipientes mortiferos super ejus cœnobialem cœtum inferre morbos, hac nostra de insula retrotrusas primaria, Deo auxiliante, repulit. Bestiarum furiosam rabiem, partim mortificatione, partim forti repulsione, Christo adjuvante compescuit. Tumores quoque fluctuum, instar montium aliquando in magna tempestate consurgentium, ipso ocus orante, sedati humiliatique sunt; navisque ipsius in qua et ipse casu navigabat, tunc temporis, facta tranquillitate, portum appulsa est optatum. In regione Pictorum aliquantis diebus manens, inde reversus ut magos confunderet contra flatu contrarios venti erexit velum, et ita veloci cursu ejus navicula enatans festinabat, ac si secundum habuisset ventum. Aliis quoque temporibus, venti navigantibus contrarii in secundos, ipso orante, conversi sunt. In eadem supra memorata regione lapidem de flumine candidum detulit, quem ad aliquas profuturum benedixit sanitates: qui lapis, contra naturam, in aqua intinctus, quasi pomum supernatavit. Hoc divinum miraculum coram Brudeo rege, et familiaribus ejus, factum est. In eadem itidem provincia, cujusdam plebei credentis mortuum puerum suscitavit, quod est majoris miraculi,

¹ Codex Cott.

² This chapter is wanting in all the MSS. except A and the codex Cottonianus; Pinkerton omitted it. In the MSS. the chapters are not numbered.

vivumque et incolumem patri et matri assignavit. Alio in tempore idem vir beatus juvenis diaconus, in Hibernia apud Findbarrum sanctum episcopum commanens, cum ad sacrosancta mysteria necessarium defuisset vinum, virtute orationis, aquam puram in verum vertit vinum. Sed et cœlestis ingens claritudinis lumen, et in noctis tenebris, et in luce diei, super eum, aliquando quibusdam ex fratribus, diversis et separatis vicibus, apparuit effusum. Sanctorum quoque angelorum dulces et suavissimas frequentationes luminosas habere meruit. Quorundam justorum animas crebro ab angelis ad summa cœlorum vehi, Sancto revelante Spiritu, videbat. Sed et reproborum alias ad inferna a dæmonibus ferri sæpenumero aspiciebat. Plurimorum in carne mortali adhuc conversantium futura plerumque prænuntiabat merita, aliorum læta, aliorum tristia. In bellorumque terrificis fragoribus hoc a Deo virtute orationum impetravit, ut alii reges victi, et alii regnatores efficerentur victores. Hoc tale privilegium non tantum in hac præsentī vita conversanti, sed etiam post ejus de carne transitum, quasi cuidam victoriali et fortissimo propugnatori, a Deo omnium sanctorum condonatum est honorificatore. Hujus talis honorificentiae viro honorabile ab Omnipotenti cœlitus collatae etiam unum proferemus exemplum, quod Ossualdo³ regnatori Saxonico, pridie quam contra Catlonem⁴ Britonum regem fortissimum præliaretur, ostensum erat. Nam cum idem Ossualdus rex esset in procinctu belli castra metatus, quadam die in suo papilione supra pulvillum dormiens, sanctum Columbam in visu videt forma coruscantem angelica; cujus alta proceritas vertice nubes tangere videbatur. Qui scilicet vir beatus, suum regi proprium revelans nomen, in medio castrorum stans, eadem castra, excepta quadam parva extremitate, sui protegebat fulgida veste; et hæc confirmatoria contulit verba, eadem scilicet quae Dominus ad Jesue Ben Nun ante transitum Jordanis, mortuo Moyse, prolocutus est, dicens: Confortare et age viriliter; ecce ero

³ Oswald, Cott.

⁴ Called by Bede and the Saxon Chronicle, Ceadualla; by the Bollandists, Catho; Cadwallo by Fordun, and Cadwalan in Layamon. Bede and the Saxon Chron. give 633 as the date of the battle of Hefenfeld; Tighernach places it two years earlier; and the Ann. of Ulst. and of Cambria in 630.

tecum⁵ etc. Sanctus itaque Columba, hæc ad regem in visu loquens, addit : Hac sequenti nocte de castris ad bellum procede ; hac enim vice mihi Dominus donavit ut hostes in fugam vertantur tui, et tuus Catlon inimicus in manus tradatur tuas, et post bellum victor revertaris et feliciter regnes. Post hæc verba experrectus rex senatui congregato hanc enarat visionem ; qua confortati omnes, totus populus promittit se post reversionem de bello crediturum et baptismum suscepturum : nam usque in id temporis tota illa Saxonia gentilitatis et ignorantiae tenebris obscurata erat, excepto ipso rege Ossualdo, cum duodecim viris, qui cum eo Scotos inter exulante baptizati sunt. Quid plura ? eadem subsecuta nocte Ossualdus rex, sicuti in visu edoctus fuerat, de castris ad bellum, cum admodum pauciore exercitu, contra millia numerosa progreditur ; cui a Domino, sicut ei promissum est, felix et facilis est concessa victoria, et rege trucidato Catlone,⁶ victor post bellum reversus, postea totius Britanniae imperator⁷ a Deo ordinatus est. Hanc mihi Adamnano narrationem meus decessor, noster abbas Failbeus,⁸ indubitanter enarravit, qui se ab ore ipsius Ossualdi regis, Segineo abbati eamdem enuntiantis visionem, audisse protestatus est.

Sed et hoc etiam non prætereundum videtur, quod ejusdem beati viri per quædam Scotticæ linguæ laudum ipsius carmina, et nominis commemorationem, quidam, quamlibet scelerati laicæ conversationis homines et sanguinarii, ea nocte qua eadem decantaverant cantica, de manibus inimicorum qui eamdem eorumdem cantorum domum circumsteterant sint liberati ; qui flammæ inter et gladios et lanceas incolumes evasere, mirumque in modum pauci ex ipsis, qui easdem sancti viri commemorationes, quasi parvi pendentes, canere noluerant decantationes, in illo æmulatorum impetu soli disperierant. Hujus miraculi testes non duo aut tres, juxta legem, sed etiam

⁵ Josh., i., 9

⁶ In 635. "In loco qui lingua Anglorum Denisesburna, id est, Rivus Denisi vocatur." Bede, III., i. Nennius calls it the battle of Catscall.

⁷ Bretwalda.

⁸ Eighth abbot of Hy, 669-679. Seghine, who is mentioned in the next line, was the fifth abbot, and governed from 623 to 632.

centeni, et eo amplius, adhiberi potuere. Non tantum in uno, aut loco, aut tempore, hoc idem contigisse comprobatur, sed etiam diversis locis et temporibus in Scotia et in Britannia, simili tamen et modo et causa liberationis, factum fuisse, sine ulla ambiguitate exploratum est. Hæc ab expertis uniuscujusque regionis, ubicumque res eadem simili contigit miraculo, indubitanter didicimus.

Sed, ut ad propositum redeamus, inter ea miracula quæ idem vir Domini, in carne mortali conversans, Deo donante, perfecerat, ab annis juvenilibus cœpit etiam prophetiæ spiritu⁹ pollere, ventura prædicere, præsentibus absentia nuntiare; quia quamvis absens corpore, præsens tamen spiritu, longe acta pervidere poterat. Nam, juxta Pauli vocem, Qui adhæret Domino unus spiritus est. Unde et idem vir Domini sanctus Columba, sicut et ipse quibusdam paucis fratribus, de re eadem aliquando percunctantibus, non negavit, in aliquantis dialis gratiæ speculationibus totum etiam mundum, veluti uno solis radio collectum, sinu mentis mirabiliter laxato, manifestatum perspicies speculabatur.

Hæc de sancti viri hic ideo enarrata sunt virtutibus, ut avidior lector breviter perscripta, quasi dulciores quasdam prægustet dapes: quæ tamen plenius in tribus inferius libris, Domino auxiliante, enarrabuntur. Nunc mihi non indecenter videtur, beati viri, licet præpostero ordine, prophetationes effari, quas de sanctis quibusdam et illustribus viris, diversis prolocutus est temporibus.

C A P U T I I.

*De Sancto Finteno, abbate, filio Tailchani.*¹

SANCTUS FINTENUS,* qui postea per universas Scotorum ecclesias valde noscibilis habitus est, a puerili ætate integritatem

⁹ According to Giraldus Cambrensis, he was one of the four Irish Saints whom the natives believed to have been endowed with the gift of prophecy, *Hib. Exp.*, ii., 16 and 33.

¹ Instead of Tailchani, Finteno, Fintenus, Columb Crag, Columb, Bartheneum,

carnis et animæ, Deo adjuvante, custodiens, studiis dialis, sophias deditus, hoc propositum, in annis juventutis conversatus, in corde habuit, ut nostrum sanctum Columbam, Hiberniam deserens, peregrinaturus adiret. Eodem æstuans desiderio, ad quemdam vadit seniore sibi amicum, in sua gente prudentissimum, venerandumque clericum, qui Scotice vocitabatur Columb Crag, ut ab eo, quasi prudente, aliquod audiret consilium. Cui cum suos tales denudaret cogitatus, hoc ab eo responsum accepit: Tuum, ut æstimo, a Deo inspiratum devotumque desiderium quis prohibere potest, ne ad sanctum Columbam transnavigare debeas? Eadem hora casu duo adveniunt monachi sancti Columbæ, qui de sua interrogati ambulatione: Nuper, aiunt, de Britannia remigantes, hodie a Roboreto Calgachi venimus. Sospes anne est, ait Columb Crag, vester Columba sanctus pater? Qui valde illacrymati, cum magno dixerunt mærore: Vere salvus est noster ille patronus, qui his diebus nuper ad Christum commigravit. Quibus auditis, Fintenus et Columb et omnes qui ibidem inerant, prostratis in terram vultibus, amare flere. Fintenus consequenter percunctatur, dicens: Quem post se successorem reliquit? Baitheneum, aiunt, suum alumnum. Omnibusque clamitantibus: Dignum et debitum; Columb ad Fintenum inquit: Quid ad hæc, Fintene facies? Qui respondens, ait: Si Dominus permiserit, ad Baitheneum virum sanctum et sapientem, enavigabo, et si me susceperit, ipsum abbatem habebo. Tum deinde supra memoratum Columb osculatus, et ei valedicens, navigationem præparat, et sine morula ulla transnavigans, Ionam devenit insulam. Et necdum, in id temporis usque, nomen ejus in his locis erat notum. Unde et

Mocmoie, and Tailchanus, the codex Cott. has Talchani, Fenteno, Fentenus, Columcrach, Columba, Baithenium, Mocmoye, and Talcanus.

* St. Fintan; known also as Munna, Munnu, and Mundus. He is celebrated in the Calendars at Oct. 21. His principal church in Scotland was Kilmond, now Kilmun, in Cowal, where according to the Aberdeen Breviary, he was buried, and where local tradition still marks the supposed place of his burial by the name of Sith-Mun. The monastery he founded was Teach Munnu or House of Munnu, in the Ceinnselach, now Taghmon, about seven miles west of Wexford. He died in 635.

imprimis quasi quidam ignotus hospes hospitaliter susceptus, alia die nuncium ad Baitheneum mittit, ejus allocutionem facie ad faciem habere volens. Qui, ut erat affabilis, et peregrinis appetibilis, jubet ad se adduci. Qui statim adductus, primo, ut conveniebat, flexis genibus in terra se prostravit; jussusque a sancto seniore, surgit, et residens interrogatur a Baitheneo, adhuc inscio, de gente et provincia, nomineque et conversatione, et pro qua causa inierit navigationis laborem. Qui, ita interrogatus, omnia per ordinem enarrans, ut suscipere-tur humiliter expostulat. Cui sanctus senior, his ab hospite auditis, simulque hunc esse virum cognoscens de quo pridem aliquando sanctus Columba prophetice vaticinatus est: Gratias, ait, Deo meo agere debeo quidem in tuo adventu, fili; sed hoc indubitanter scito quod noster monachus non eris. Hoc audiens hospes, valde contristatus, inquit: Forsitan ego indignus tuus non mereor fieri monachus. Senior consequenter inquit: Non quod, ut dicis, indignus esses hoc dixi; sed quamvis maluissem te apud me retinere, mandatum tamen sancti Columbæ mei decessoris profanare non possum; per quem Spiritus Sanctus de te prophetavit. Alia namque die mihi soli seorsim, sic prophético profatus ore, inter cætera, dixit: Hæc mea, O Baithenee, intentius debes audire verba; statim namque post meum de hoc ad Christum sæculo expectatum et valde desideratum transitum, quidam de Scotia frater, qui nunc, bene juvenilem bonis moribus regens ætatem, sacræ lectionis studiis satis imbuitur, nomine Fintenus, gente Mocumoie, cujus pater Tailchanus vocitatur, ad te, inquam, perveniens, humiliter expostulabit ut ipsum suscipiens inter cæteros adnumeres monachos. Sed hoc ei in Dei præscientia prædestinatum, non est ut ipse alicujus abbatis monachus fieret; sed ut monachorum abbas, et animarum dux ad cœleste regnum, olim electus a Deo est. Noles itaque hunc memoratum virum in his nostris apud te retinere insulis, ne et Dei voluntati contraire videaris: sed, hæc ei intimans verba, ad Scotiam in pace remittas, ut in Laginensium vicinis mari finibus monasterium construat, et ibidem Christi ovinum pascens gregem, innumeras ad patriam animas cœlestem perducatur. Hæc audiens sanctus junior, Christo, lachrymas fundens, agit gratias,

inquiens: Secundum sancti Columbæ prophetica fiat mihi et mirabilem præscientiam. Iisdemque diebus verbis sanctorum obtemperans, et a Baitheneo accipiens benedictionem, in pace ad Scotiam transnavigat.

Hæc mihi quodam narrante religioso sene presbytero, Christi milite, Oisseneo nomine, Ernani filio, gente Mocu Neth Corb, indubitanter didici: qui se eadem supra memorata verba ejusdem ab ore sancte Finteni, filii Tailchani, audisse testatus est, ipsius monachus.

CAPUT III.

De Erneneo filio Craseni Sancti Columbæ prophetia.

ALIO in tempore vir beatus, in mediterranea Hiberniæ parte monasterium, quod Scotice dicitur, Dair-mag,¹ divino fundans nutu, per aliquot demoratus menses, libuit animo visitare fratres qui in Clonoensi² sancti Cerani cœnobio commanebant. Auditoque ejus accessu, universi undique ab agellulis monasterio vicinis cum his qui ibidem inventi sunt congregati, cum omni alacritate suum consequentes abbatem Alitherum,³

¹ As Latin equivalents to this, Adamnan uses *Roboreti Campus* at I., 29, 49, II., 39, III., 15, and *Roboris Campus* at II., 2. Speaking of St. Columba, Bede says: "Before he came to Britain he built a noble monastery in Ireland, which from the great number of oaks, is called in the Scottish tongue Dearthach, that is, the Field of Oaks." *H. E.*, III., 4. It is situated in King's County, and has for its modern name Durrow. The earliest, it was also the most important of St. Columba's foundations in Ireland. Its date is not exactly known, but Dr. Reeves observes: "It is certain that St. Columba was established in Hy when the magna domus of Durrow was a-building." The most interesting relic of the Abbey is the beautiful Evangelium, known as the "Book of Durrow," which bears to have been written by St. Columba himself. It is now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Stokes, *Early Christ. Art in Ireland*, p. 17.

² Clonmacnoise was founded in 548 by Ciaran "filius artificis." The site and endowments were granted by his chief patron King Diarmait. The Saint died on Sept. 5, 549, in his 34th year.

³ Successor to Mac Nissi, third abbot of Clonmacnoise, who died June 12th, 585, According to Tighearnach, Ailithir's death took place in 599. His day is May 12.

sancto Columbæ, quasi angelo Domini, obviam, egressi vallum ⁴ monasterii, unanimes pergunt; humiliatisque in terram vultibus eo viso, cum omni reverentia exosculatus ab eis est; hymnisque et laudibus resonantes, honorifice ad ecclesiam perducunt; quamdamque de lignis pyramidem ⁵ erga sanctum deambulantem constringentes, a quatuor viris æque ambulantibus supportari fecerunt: ne videlicet sanctus senior Columba ejusdem fratrum multitudinis constipatione molestaretur. Eadem hora quidam valde despectus vultu et habitu, puer familiaris, et necdum senioribus placens, retro, in quantum valuit se occultans, accessit, ut videlicet vel illius amphibali fimbriam, ⁶ quo vir beatus induebatur, occulte, et si fieri possit ipso nesciente et non sentiente, tangeret. Sed hoc tamen Sanctum non latuit, nam quod corporalibus oculis retro se actum intueri non potuit, spiritalibus perspexit. Unde subito restitit, et post se extendens manum, cervicem pueri tenet, ipsumque trahens ante faciem suam statuit. Omnibusque qui ibidem circumstabant, dicentibus, Dimitte, dimitte, quare hunc infelicem et injuriosum retines puerum? Sanctus e contra hæc puro ⁷ pectore verba depromit prophetica: Sinite, fratres, sinite modo. Ad puerum vero valde tremefactum dicit: O fili aperi os, et porrige linguam. Jussus tum puer, cum ingenti tremore aperiens os, linguam porrexit; quam Sanctus, sanctam extendens manum, diligenter benedicens, ita propheticè profatur, dicens: Hic puer quamvis vobis nunc despicabilis et valde vilis videatur, nemo tamen ipsum ob id despiciat. Ab hac enim hora non solum vobis non displicebit, sed valde placebit; bonisque moribus, et animæ virtutibus paulatim de die in diem crescet: sapientia quoque et prudentia magis ac magis in eo ab hac die adaugebitur, et in hac vestra congrega-

⁴ The rampart, caiseel, or casbel, was built of mixed stones and earth. See Petrie's *Round Towers*, pp. 440-446. Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 24; Stokes' *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 184-188; and Whitley Stokes' *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, i., p. clv.; also Bede, *H. E.*, IV., 18, and *Vita St. Cuthberti*, c. 17.

⁵ Du Cange explains this by *ciborium*, or "canopy of the altar." "In the present instance," Dr. Reeves observes, "it simply signifies 'a canopy.'"

⁶ See the *Life by Cumman*, c. 27, n. 2.

⁷ With the second syllable of this word the Regius MS. begins.

tionē grandis est futurus profectus; lingua quoque ejus salubri et doctrinali eloquentia a Deo donabitur. Hic erat Erneneus,⁸ filius Craseni, postea per omnes Scotiæ ecclesias famosus et valde notissimus; qui hæc omnia suprascripta verba Segineo abbati de se prophetata enarraverat, meo decessore Failbeo intentius audiente, qui et ipse cum Segineo præsens inerat; cujus re[ve]lacione, et ego ipse cognovi hæc eadem quæ enarravi. Sed et multa alia iisdem diebus quibus in Clonoensi cœnobio Sanctus hospitabatur, revelante prophetavit Sancto Spiritu; hoc est, de illa, quæ post dies multos ob diversitatem Paschalis festi orta est inter Scotiæ ecclesias, discordia: et de quibusdam ang[e]licis frequentationibus sibi manifestatis, quibus quædam intra ejusdem cœnobii septa ab angelis tunc temporis frequentabantur loca.

CAPUT IV.

De adventu Sancti Cainnechi, abbatis, de quo Sanctus Columba prophetaliter pronuntiavit.

ALIO in tempore, cum in Iona insula die fragosæ tempestatis, et intolerabilis undarum magnitudinis, sedens in domo Sanctus, et fratribus præcipiens, diceret: Præparate ocus hospitium, aquamque ad lavandos hospitum pedes exhaurite; quidam ex ipsis frater consequenter: Quis, ait, hac die valde ventosa et nimis periculosa, licet breve, fretum¹ prospere transnavigare potest? Quo audito Sanctus sic profatur: Cuidam sancto et electo homini, qui ad nos ante vesperam perveniet, Omnipotens

⁸ St. Marnan or Marnock. In the Irish Calendars he is celebrated at Aug. 18; but in the Aberdeen Breviary, Part. Estiv., fol. 132, where his legend is given in six lectiones, the festival "Sancti Mernocho episcopi et confessoris patroni de Kilmernoch," is appointed for October 25. His name is also preserved in Scotland in Inchmarnock, a small island at the west entrance to the Kyles of Bute, and in Ardmarnock in the parish of Kilfinan, on the shores of Loch Fyne. See Smith's *Dict. Christ. Bio.*, iii., p. 835, and Forbes' *Kal. Scot. SS.* His death is given by Tighernach at 634.

¹ The Sound of Iona is an English mile wide.

tranquillitatem quamlibet in tempestate donavit. Et ecce, eadem die aliquamdiu a fratribus expectata navis, in qua sanctus inerat Cannechus,² juxta Sancti prophetationem pervenit. Cui Sanctus cum fratribus obviam venit, et ab eo honorifice, et hospitaliter susceptus est. Illi vero nautæ, qui cum Cannecho inerant, interrogati a fratribus de qualitate navigationis, sic retulerunt sicuti sanctus Columba prius de tempestate et tranquillitate pariter, Deo donante, in eodem mari, et iisdem horis, mirabili divisione prædixerat; et tempestatem eminens visam, non sensisse professi sunt.

CAPUT V.

De periculo Sancti Columbani Episcopi Mocusailni, in mari juxta insulam quæ vocitatur Rechru.³

ALIA itidem die sanctus Columba, in sua commanens matrice ecclesia, repente in hanc subridens erupit vocem, dicens: Columbanus² filius Beognai, ad nos transnavigare incipiens, nunc in undosis Charybdis Breani³ æstibus valde periclitatur, ambasque ad cælum, in prora sedens, palmas elevat; turbatum quoque et tam formidabile pelagus benedicit; quem tamen Dominus sic terret, non ut navis naufragio, in qua ipse residet, undis obruatur; sed potius ad orandum intentius suscitetur, ut ad nos, Deo propitio, post transvadatum perveniat periculum.

² Cainnechus. See III., 17, note 2, *infra*.

¹ The modern Rathlin, a large island lying to the north of Ballycastle, in the county of Antrim.

² See the Life by Cummian, notes to c. 8, and cf. Forbes' *Kal. Scot. SS.*, and the article in Smith's *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, i., p. 600 a.

³ Called by the Irish "Brean's Cauldron," from the peculiar motion of the water, and the tradition that Brean son of Maine, ob. A.D. 440, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, was engulfed in it. The name has long since shifted to the strait between Scarba and Jura, but there can be no doubt that in Adamnan's day this Corry-Brackan was situated near the Irish coast. See the notes to the passages in Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 29-30, and pp. 262-263.

CAPUT VI.

*De Cormaco.*¹

ALIO quoque in tempore de Cormaco nepote Lethani, viro utique sancto, qui tribus non minus vicibus eremum in oceano laboriose quæsivit, nec tamen invenit, sanctus Columba ita prophetizans ait: Hodie iterum Cormaccus desertum reperire cupiens, enavigare incipit ab illa regione quæ, ultra Modan,² fluvium sita Eirros Domno³ dicitur; nec tamen etiam hac vice quod quærit, inveniet; et non ob aliam ejus culpam nisi quod alicujus religiosi abbatis monachum, ipso non permittente, discessorem secum non recte comitari, navigio susceperit.

CAPUT VII.

De Bellorum fragoribus longe commissorum Beati prophetia Viri.

POST bellum Cule Drebene,¹ sicuti nobis traditum est, duobus transactis annis, quo tempore vir beatus de Scotia peregrina-

¹ Abbot of Durrow. In the Mart. of Donegal he is designated "successor of Columcille," but whether he was a disciple of St. Columba or only a friend and contemporary is uncertain. His best known designation is Cormac the Voyager, or Cormac of the Sea. He thrice sailed into the northern ocean in quest of some desert island where he might devote himself to a solitary religious life, and thrice failed, through some inadvertence, it was supposed, or breach of monastic rule. An account of his voyages is also given in II. 42 *infra*, and by O'Donnell in his Life of St. Columba, II., 61-64. He is celebrated at June 21. The date of his death is not given. See Smith's *Dict. Chris. Bio.*, i., p. 687, and Forbes' *Kal. Scott.*, SS.

² Modam. Now Moy. It rises a little to the south of Ballina, and falls into Killala Bay.

³ The barony of Erris, in the county of Mayo, called by the Irish Erris of the Damnonii, and supposed to derive that name from the Viri Damnonii, a section of the Fírbolgs.

¹ According to the Calendar of Donegall at June 10, it was situated between Drumcliff and Sligo. The battle was fought in 561.

turus primitus enavigavit, quadam die, hoc est, eadem hora qua in Scotia commissum est bellum quod Scotice dicitur Ondemone,² idem homo Dei coram Conallo³ rege, filio Comgill in Brittannia conversatus, per omnia enarravit, tam be bello commissio, quam etiam de illis regibus quibus Dominus de inimicis victoriam condonavit : quorum propria vocabula Anmorius filius Scetni,⁴ et duo filii Maic Erce, Domnallus et Forcus. Sed et de rege Cruithniorum,⁵ qui Echodius Laib⁶ vocitabatur, quemadmodum victus, curru insidens, evaserit, similiter Sanctus prophetizavit.

CAPUT VIII.

*De Bello Miathorum.*¹

ALIO in tempore, hoc est, post multos a supra memorato bello annorum transcursus, cum esset vir sanctus in Iona insula, subito ad suum dicit ministratorem Diormitium² : Cloccam³ pulsa. Cujus sonitu fratres incitati ad ecclesiam, ipso sancto præeunte, ocius currunt. Ad quos ibidem flexis genibus inquit :

² So the name appears in the MSS. A. and B., but Colgan and the Bollandists have Monamoire. Fordun has Ondemon. The place is near to Coleraine.

³ He succeeded his brother Gabhran in 560, and was followed on the throne by his first cousin Aidan.

⁴ Ainmorius filius Setni, A.

⁵ The Cruithne were the Irish Picts who occupied Dalaradia. See the Life of St. Ninian, c. 6, note 2.

⁶ echuiuslaid, B.

¹ Identified by Dr. Reeves and Prof. Rhys with the Mæatæ. Dr. Skene, *Celtic Scot.*, i., p. 162, is somewhat doubtful as to their identity. T. Innes calls them "Midland Britons," and places them in Valentia, between the two Roman walls ; but by Prof. Rhys they are placed in Mearns and the East of Scotland, and regarded as non-Celtic : *Celt. Brit.*, pp. 155, 159, 161, 169.

² uermicium, B. He is mentioned in the same capacity in I., 12, 22, 25, 29, 30, 34 ; II., 29, 30 ; III., 11, 23.

³ For an interesting account of ancient bells see Dr. Jos. Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christ. Times*, i., pp. 197-215, and Stokes' *Early Christ. Art in Ireland*, pp. 58-66.

Nunc intente pro [hoc populo⁴ et]⁵ Aidano rege Dominum oremus ; hac enim hora ineunt bellum.⁶ Et post modicum intervallum egressus oratorium, respiciens in cœlum, inquit : Nunc barbari in fugam vertuntur ; Aidanoque, quamlibet infelix, tamen concessa est victoria. Sed et de numero de exercitu Aidani interfectorum, trecentorum et trium virorum, vir beatus prophetice narravit.

CAPUT IX.

De filiis Aidani regis Sancti Columbæ prophetia.

ALIO in tempore, ante supra dictum bellum Sanctus Aidanum regem interrogat de regni successore. Illo se respondente nescire quis esset de tribus filiis suis regnaturus, Arturius, an Echodius Find, an Domingartus, Sanctus consequenter hoc profatur modo : Nullus ex his tribus erit regnator ; nam in bellis cadent ab inimicis trucidandi : sed nunc si alios juniores habes ad me veniant, et quem ex eis elegerit Dominus regem, subito super meum irruet gremium. Quibus accitis, secundum verbum Sancti Echodius Buide adveniens in sinu ejus recubuit. Statimque Sanctus eum osculatus benedixit, et ad patrem ait : Hic est superstes, et rex post te regnaturus, et filii ejus post eum regnabunt. Sic omnia post, suis temporibus plene adim-

⁴ This is explained by Cumman's phrase "pro Aidano et populo ejus." C. 25.
⁵ Col. Boll., Reeves.

⁶ Fordun, *Scotichron.*, III., 29, identifies this with the battle of Wodenysburgh, near Chester, fought in 591, and Dr. Reeves with the battle of Chircinn, given in Tighernach under the year 596, and supposes the place to have been the modern Kirkintilloch, to the north-east of Glasgow. Prof. Rhys agrees with the latter so far as the identity of the battle is concerned, and remarks in reference to it, "it helps us to identify Magh-Girginn, or the plain of Circinn, the name of which was reduced to Moerne and Mernis, or Mearns in Broad Scotch, with the territory of the ancient people of the Mæatæ ; the Mearns are now roughly speaking represented by Kincardineshire." *Celtic Brit.*, pp. 155-156. St. Columba, however, died in 595, and if the battle was fought during his life-time, it must have occurred earlier than it is set down in Tighernach, which is likely. See Dr. Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 36, n. c.

pleta sunt. Nam Arturius, et Echodius Find, non longo post temporis intervallo, Miatorum¹ superius memorato in bello, trucidati sunt. Domingartus vero in Saxonia bellica in strage interfectus est: Echodius autem Buide² post patrem in regnum successit.³

CAPUT X.

De Domnallo filio Aido.

DOMNALLUS filius Aido, adhuc puer, ad sanctum Columbam in Dorso Cete¹ per nutritores adductus est, quem intuens percunctatur, inquiens: Cujus est filius hic quem adduxistis? Illis respondentibus: Hic est Domnallus filius Aido, qui ad te ideo perductus est, ut tua redeat benedictione ditatus. Quem cum Sanctus benedixisset, continuo ait: Hic post super omnes suos fratres superstes erit, et rex valde famosus;² nec unquam in manus inimicorum tradetur, sed morte placida, in senectute, et intra domum suam, coram amicorum familiarium turba, super suum morietur lectum. Quæ omnia secundum beati vaticinium viri de eo vere adimpleta sunt.

CAPUT XI.

De Scandlano filio Colmani.

EODEM tempore Sanctus, et in eodem loco, ad Scandlanum,¹ filium Colmani, apud Aidum regem in vinculis retentum, visi-

¹ micitorum, B.

² Tighernach mentions two other sons, viz., Bran, slain in 596, and Conang, drowned in 622. He is also said to have had seven sons.

³ In 606.

¹ Druim Ceatt in Londonderry.

² He succeeded Suibhne Meann in 628, and won the battle of Dun-Ceithern in 629, and the battle of Magh Rath in 637.

³ Usually called Scannlan Mor, son of Cennsaladh.

tare eum cupiens, pergit ; ipsumque cum benedixisset, confortans ait : Fili, nolis contristari, sed potius lætare et confortare. Aidus enim rex, apud quem vinculatus es, de hoc mundo te præcedet ; et, post aliqua exilii tempora, triginta annis in gente tua rex regnaturus es. Iterumque de regno effugaberis, et per aliquot exulabis dies ; post quos, a populo reinvitatus, per tria regnabis brevia tempora. Quæ cuncta juxta vaticinationem Sancti plene expleta sunt : nam post triginta annos de regno expulsus, per aliquod exulavit spatium temporis ; sed post a populo reinvitatus, non, ut putabat, tribus annis, sed ternis regnavit mensibus ; post quos continuo obiit.

CAPUT XII.

De duobus aliis Regnatoribus, qui duo nepotes Muirethachi¹ vocitabantur, Baitanus filius Maic Erce, et Euchudius² filius Domnail, Beati prophetia Viri.

ALIO in tempore, per asperam et saxosam regionem iter faciens, quæ dicitur Ardamuircol,³ et suos audiens comites, Laisranum utique, filium Feradachi, et, Diormitium ministratorem, de duobus supra memoratis regibus in via sermocinari, hæc ad eos verba depromit : O filioli quare inaniter de his sic confabulamini ? Nam illi ambo reges, de quibus nunc sermocinamini, nuper ab inimicis decapitati disperierunt. In hac quoque die aliqui de Scotia adventantes nautæ hæc eadem vobis de illis indicabunt regibus. Quod venerabilis viri vaticinium eadem die de Hibernia navigatores, ad locum qui dicitur Muirbolc Paradisi pervenientes, supra scriptis ejus binis comitibus, et in eadem navi cum Sancto navigantibus, de iisdem interfectis regibus expletum retulerunt.

¹ Muiredachi.

² Echodius.

³ Artdamuirchol. The modern Ardnamurchan.

CAPUT XIII.

De Oingusio filio Aido Communi Sancti prophetia Viri.

HIC namque de patria cum aliis duobus fratribus effugatus, ad Sanctum in Britannia peregrinantem exul venit : cuique benedicens, hæc de eo prophetizans sancto promittit de pectore verba : Hic juvenis, defunctis ejus cæteris fratribus superstes remanens, multo est regnaturus in patria tempore ; et inimici ejus coram ipso cadent : nec tamen ipse unquam in manus tradetur inimicorum ; sed morte placida, senex, inter amicos morietur. Quæ omnia juxta Sancti verbum plene sunt adimpleta. Hic est Oingusius cujus cognomentum Bronbachal.

CAPUT XIV.

De filio Dermoti Regis, qui Aidus Slane lingua nominatus est Scottica prophetia Beati Viri.

ALIO in tempore, cum vir beatus in Scotia per aliquot demoraretur dies, ad supradictum Aidum, ad se venientem, sic propheticè locutus ait : Præcavere debes, fili, ne tibi a Deo totius Hiberniæ regni prærogativam monarchiæ predestinatam, parricidali faciente peccato, amittas : nam si quandoque illud commiseris, non toto patris regno, sed ejus aliqua parte in gente tua, brevi finieris¹ tempore. Quæ verba Sancti sic sunt expleta secundum ejus vaticinationem. Nam post Suibneum filium Columbani dolo ab eo interfectum, non plus, ut fertur, quam quatuor annis et tribus mensibus² regni concessa potius est parte.

¹ Other MSS. have "frueris."

² According to Tighernach, the crime was committed in 600, and the retribution followed in 604.

CAPUT XV.

*De rege Roderco filio Totail,¹ qui Petra Cloithe² regnavit,
Beati Viri prophetia.*

ALIO idem in tempore, ut erat sancti viri amicus, aliquam ad eum occultam per Lugbeum Mocumin, legationem misit, scire volens si ab inimicis esset trucidandus, an non: At vero Lugbeus, a Sancto interrogatus de eodem rege, et regno, et populo ejus, respondens, quasi misertus, dicit: Quid de illo inquiris misero, qui qua hora ab inimicis occidatur, nullo modo scire potest? Sanctus tum deinde profatur: Nunquam in manus tradetur inimicorum, sed in sua, super suam plumatiunculam, morietur domo. Quod Sancti de rege Roderco vaticinium, plene adimpletum est: nam, juxta verba ejus, domo sua morte placida obiit.

CAPUT XVI.

De duobus pueris, quorum unus, juxta verbum Sancti, in fine hebdomadis obiit, prophetia Sancti.

ALIO in tempore duo quidam plebei ad Sanctum in Iona comorantem insula deveniunt; quorum unus Meldanus nomine, de filio suo, qui præsens erat, Sanctum interrogat, quid ei esset futurum? Cui Sanctus sic profatur: Nonne sabbati dies hodierna est? Filius tuus sexta feria, in fine morietur septimanæ, octavaque die, hoc est, sabbato, hic sepelietur. Alter

¹ See Ailred's *Life of St. Ninian*, c. 4, and note 1. Among the Welsh he was celebrated as one of the three Liberal Princes of Britain. See also Jocelin's *Life of St. Kentig*, cc. 29 and 37.

² Now Dumbarton; called in the thirteenth century Dun-Brethan; and by Bede, *H. E.*, I., 1, 12, Alcluith. For the kingdom of the Britons of Alclyde, see Chalmers' *Caledonia*, i., pp. 235-249, Skene's *Celt. Scot.*, i., pp. 235-236, *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. xciii., and Rhys' *Celt. Brit.*, pp. 110-116.

proinde plebeius, nomine Glasdercis, et ipse de filio quem ibidem secum habuit, nihilominus interrogans, talem Sancti audit responsionem : Filius tuus Ernanus suos videbit nepotes et in hac insula senex sepelietur. Quæ omnia, secundum verbum Sancti, de pueris ambobus, suis plene temporibus sunt expleta.

CAPUT XVII.

*De Colgio, Aido Draigniche filio, a nepotibus Fechureg¹ Orto ;
et de quodam occulto Matris ejus peccato, prophetia Sancti.*

ALIO in tempore, supra memoratum Colgium, apud se in Iona commorantem insula, Sanctus de sua interrogat genetrice, si esset religiosa, an non. Cui ipse inquiens ait : Bene moratam, et bonæ famæ, meam novi matrem. Sanctus tum sic propheticæ profatur : Mox, Deo volente, ad Scotiam profectus, matrem diligentius de quodam suo pergrandi peccato interroga occulto, quod nulli hominum confiteri vult. Qui, hæc audiens, obsecutus, ad Hiberniam emigravit. Proinde mater, ab eo studiose interrogata, quamlibet primule infitens, tamen suum confessa est peccatum ; et juxta Sancti judicationem, pœnitudinem agens, sanata, de se quod Sancto manifestatum est valde mirata est. Colgius vero, ad Sanctum reversus, per aliquot dies apud eum commoratus, de fine sui interrogans temporis, hoc a Sancto audit responsum : In tua, quam amas, patria primarius alicujus ecclesiæ per multos eris annos ; et si forte aliquando tuum videris pincernam in cœna amicorum ludentem hauritoriumque in gyro per collum torquentem, scito te mox in brevi moriturum. Quid plura ? Hæc eadem beati viri prophetatio sic per omnia est adimpleta, quemadmodum de Colgio eodem est prophetata.

¹ Glasdercus, Grey-eyed.

² A tribe inhabiting an extensive tract in the modern counties of Galway and Mayo.

CAPUT XVIII.

De Laisrano Ortholano,¹ homine sancto.

VIR beatus quemdam de suis monachum nomine Trenanum, gente Mocuruntir, legatum ad Scotiam exire quadam præcipit die. Qui, hominis Dei obsecutus jussioni, navigationem parat festinus; unumque sibi deesse navigatorem coram Sancto queritur. Sanctus hæc consequenter, eidem respondens, sacro promit de pectore verba, dicens: Nautam, quem tibi non adhuc suppetisse dicis, nunc invenire non possum. Vade in pace: usquequo ad Hiberniam pervenias, prosperos et secundos habebis flatus. Quemdamque obvium videbis hominem eminus occurrurum, qui primus præ ceteris navis proram tuæ tenebit in Scotia, hic erit comes tui itineris per aliquot in Hibernia dies; teque inde revertentem ad nos usque comitabitur, vir a Deo electus, qui in hoc meo monasterio per omne reliquum tempus bene conversabitur. Quid plura? Trenanus, accipiens a Sancto benedictionem, plenis velis per omnia transmeavit maria: et, ecce, appropinquant ad portum naviculæ Laisranus Mocumoie, citior ceteris, occurrit, tenetque proram. Nautæ recognoscunt ipsum esse de quo Sanctus prædixerat.

CAPUT XIX.

De ceto magno quod Sanctus præsciens dixerat.

QUADAM die, cum vir venerabilis in Iona demoraretur insula, quidam frater, Berachus nomine, ad Ethicam proponens insulam² navigare, ad Sanctum mane accedens, ab eo benedici

¹ Hortulano; styled in the last line but one, Mocumoie.

² The island of Tirce. *Ethicam* is an adjective agreeing with *insulam*, not a substantive. Below we have *Ethici pelagi*. It is an appellative, observes Dr. Reeves, formed from *eth* or *ith*, corn, and signifies *tritici ferax*, the island being, as Fordun describes it, "insula ubi hordei magna copia." Artchain and Campus Lange were situated in the Ethica terra.

postulat. Quem Sanctus intuitus, inquit : O fili hodie intentius præcaveto ne Ethicam cursu ad terram directo per latius coneris transmeare pelagus ; sed potius, circumiens, minores secus naviges insulas ; ne videlicet, aliquo monstruoso perterritus prodigio, vix inde possis evadere. Qui, a Sancto accepta benedictione, secessit, et navem conscendens, Sancti verbum quasi parvipendens transgreditur ; majora proinde Ethici transmeans spatia pelagi, ipse et qui ibi inerant nautæ vident, et ecce cetus miræ et immensæ magnitudinis, se instar montis erigens, ora aperuit patula nimis dentosa, supernatans. Tum proinde remiges, deposito velo, valde perterriti, retro reversi, illam obortam ex belluino motu fluctuationem vix evadere potuerunt, Sanctique verbum recognoscentes propheticum, admirabantur. Eadem quoque die Sanctus Baitheneo,¹ ad supra memoratam insulam navigaturo, mane de eodem intimavit ceto, inquiens : Hac præterita nocte media, cetus magnus de profundo maris se sublevavit, et inter Ionam et Ethicam insulam se hodie in superficiem eriget æquoris. Cui Baitheneus respondens inquit : Ego et illa bellua sub Dei potestate sumus. Sanctus, Vade, ait, in pace, fides tua in Christo te ab hoc defendet periculo. Baitheneus tum deinde, a Sancto benedictione accepta, a portu enavigat : transcursisque non parvis ponti spatiis, ipse et socii cetum aspiciunt ; perterritisque omnibus, ipse solus æquor et cetum, ambabus manibus elevatis, benedicit intrepidus : eodemque momento bellua magna, se sub fluctus immergens, nusquam deinceps eis apparuit.

C A P U T XX.

De quodam Baitano, qui cum ceteris desertum marinum appetens enavigaverat, Sancti prophetia Viri.

ALIO in tempore quidam Baitanus, gente nepos Mathaloirc,²

¹ Superior of the dependant monastery of Magh-Lunge in Tiree ; afterwards abbot of Hy. See I., 30, 41, II., 15, III., 8, *infra*.

² Niath Talairc, Reeves. Niath Talairc, Colg. and Boll.

benedici a Sancto petivit, cum ceteris in mari eremum quæsiturus. Cui valedicens Sanctus hoc de ipso propheticum protulit verbum: Hic homo, qui ad quærendum in oceano desertum pergit, non in deserto conditus jacebit; sed illo in loco sepelietur ubi oves femina trans sepulcrum ejus minabit. Idem itaque Baitanus, post longos per ventosa circuitus æquora, eremo non reperta, ad patriam reversus, multis ibidem annis cujusdam cellulæ dominus remansit, quæ Scotice Lathreginden³ dicitur. Iisdem diebus accidit, quibus post aliqua mortuus tempora, sepultus est in Roboreto Calgachi, ut propter hostilitatis incursum vicina ad ejusdem loci ecclesiam plebecula cum mulieribus et parvulis confugeret. Unde contigit ut quadam die mulier deprehenderetur aliqua, quæ suas per ejusdem viri sepulcrum nuper sepulti oviculas minabat. Et unus ex his qui viderant sanctus sacerdos dixit: Nunc prophetia sancti Columbæ expleta est, multis prius divulgata annis. Qui utique supra memoratus presbyter mihi hæc de Baitano enarrans retulit, Mailodranus nomine, Christi miles, gente Mocucurin.

CAPUT XXI.

De Nemano quodam ficto pœnitente Sancti prophetia Viri.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus ad Hinbinam⁴ insulam pervenit, eademque die ut etiam pœnitentibus aliqua præcipit cibi consolatio indulgeretur. Erat autem ibi inter pœnitentes quidam Nemanus, filius Cathir, qui, a Sancto jussus, renuit oblatam accipere consolatiunculam. Quem Sanctus his compellat verbis: O Neman, a me et Baitheneo indultam non recipis aliquam refectionis indulgentiam? Erit tempus quo cum furantibus⁵ furtive carnem in silva manducabis equæ. Hic idem itaque, postea ad sæculum reversus, in saltu cum furibus talem comedens carnem, juxta verbum Sancti, de craticula sumptam lignea, inventus est.

³ Not identified.

⁴ Mocurin.

⁵ See the *Life by Cumman*, c. 5, n. 3.

⁶ furacibus.

CAPUT XXII.

De infelici quodam qui cum sua dormivit genetrice.

ALIO in tempore fratres intempesta nocte suscitatur Sanctus, ad quos in ecclesia congregatos dicit: Nunc Dominum intentius precemur: nam hac in hora aliquod inauditum in mundo peccatum perpetratum est, pro quo valde timenda judicialis est vindicta. De quo peccato crastina die, aliquibus paucis percunctantibus, intimavit dicens: Post paucos menses cum Lugaido¹ nesciente infelix ille homuncio ad Ionam perveniet insulam. Alia itaque die Sanctus ad Diormitium, interjectis quisbusdam mensibus, præcipiens profatur: Surge citius, ecce Lugaidus appropinquat, dicque ei ut miserum quem secum in navi habet in Maleam propellat insulam,² ne hujus insulæ cespitem calcet. Qui, præcepto Sancti obsecutus, ad mare pergit. Lugaidoque adventanti omnia Sancti prosequitur de infelici viro verba. Quibus auditis, ille infelix juravit nunquam se cibum cum aliis accepturum nisi prius sanctum videret Columbam, eumque alloqueretur. Quæ infelicitis verba Diormitius, ad Sanctum reversus, retulit. Quibus compertis Sanctus ad portum perrexit, Baitheneoque, prolatis sacræ Scripturæ testimoniis, suggerenti ut miseri pœnitudo susciperetur, Sanctus consequenter inquit: O Baithenee, hic homo fratricidium in modum perpetravit Cain, et cum sua matre mœchatus est. Tum deinde miser in litore flexis genibus leges pœnitentiæ expleturum se promisit, juxta Sancti judicationem. Cui Sanctus ait: Si duodecim annis inter Brittones cum fletu et lacrymis pœnitentiam egeris, nec ad Scotiam usque ad mortem reversus fueris, forsitan Deus peccato ignoscat tuo. Hæc dicens Sanctus, ad suos conversus, dicit: Hic homo filius est perditionis, qui quam promisit pœnitentiam non explebit; sed mox ad Scotiam revertetur, ibique in brevi ab inimicis interficiendus peribit.

¹ The messenger of the monastery.

² The island of Mull.

Quæ omnia secundum Sancti prophetiam ita contigerunt : nam miser iisdem diebus ad Hiberniam reversus, in regione quæ vocitatur Lea,³ in manus incidens inimicorum trucidatus est. Hic de Nepotibus Turtrei erat.

CAPUT XXIII.

De I vocali litera.

QUADAM die Baitheneus, ad Sanctum accedens, ait : Necesse habeo ut aliquis de fratribus mecum Psalterium quod scripsi percurrens emendet. Quo audito, Sanctus sic profatur : Cur hanc super nos infers sine causa molestiam ? Nam in tuo hoc, de quo dicis, Psalterio nec una superflua reperietur litera, nec alia deesse, excepta I vocali, quæ sola deest. Et sic, toto perlecto Psalterio, sicuti Sanctus prædixerat, repertum exploratum est.

CAPUT XXIV.

De libro in aquarium vas Sanctus sicuti prædixerat cadente.

QUADAM itidem die, ad focum in monasterio sedens, videt Lugbeum gente Mocumin, eminus librum legentem, cui repente ait : Præcave, fili, præcave, æstimo enim quod quem lectitas liber in aquæ plenum sit casurus vasculum. Quod mox ita contigit : nam ille supra memoratus juvenis, post aliquod breve intervallum, ad aliquam consurgens in monasterio ministrationem, verbi oblitus beati viri, libellus, quem sub ascella negligentius inclusit, subito in fossam ¹ aqua repletam cecidit.

³ The district lay on the west side of the river Bann.

¹ ydriam, A.

CAPUT XXV.

De corniculo atramenti inaniter defuso.

ALIA inter hæc die ultra fretum Ionæ insulæ clamatum est : quem Sanctus sedens in tuguriolo¹ tabulis suffulto audiens clamorem dicit : Homo qui ultra clamat fretum non est subtilis sensus, nam hodie mei corniculum atramenti inclinans effundet. Quod verbum ejus ministrator Diormitius audiens, paulisper ante januam stans, gravamen expectabat super venturum hospitem, ut corniculum defenderet. Sed alia mox faciente causa, inde recessit ; et post ejus recessum hospes molestus supervenit, Sanctumque osculandum appetens, ora vestimenti inclinatum effudit atramenti corniculum.

CAPUT XXVI.

De alicujus adventu hospitis quem Sanctus prænuñciavit.

ALIO itidem tempore Sanctus die tertiæ feriæ² fratribus sic profatus est : Crastina quarta feria jejunare proponimus, sed tamen, superveniente quodam molesto hospite, consuetudinarium solvetur jejunium. Quod ita ut Sancto præostensum est accidit ; nam mane eadem quarta feria, alius ultra fretum clamitabat proselytus, Aidanus nomine, filius Fergnoi, qui, ut fertur, duodecim annis Brendeno³ ministravit Mocualti ; vir valde religiosus, qui, ut advenit, ejusdem diei, juxta verbum Sancti, jejunationem solvit.

¹ According to III., 22, *infra*, this hut was "in eminentiore loco fabricatum." It was the place where the Saint was in the habit of writing.

² Tuesday.

³ The founder of Clonfert and famous voyager. He is said to have been the father of three thousand monks. The records of his wanderings were among the most popular legends of the Middle Ages. He died May 16, 577, aged 95. He is sometimes called the son of Finnloga, to distinguish him from St. Brendan of Birr. See Forbes' *Kel. Scot.* SS., and Smith's *Dict. Christ. Bio.*, i., pp. 335-6.

CAPUT XXVII.

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*De aliquo miserabili viro, qui ultra supradictum clamitabat
fretum.*

QUADAM quoque die, quemdam ultra fretum audiens clamitantem, Sanctus hoc profatur modo: Valde miserandus est ille clamitans homo, qui, aliqua ad carnalia medicamenta petiturus pertinentia, ad nos venit: cui opportunius erat veram de peccatis hodie pœnitudinem gerere; nam in hujus fine hebdomadis morietur. Quod verbum qui inerant præsentes adveniēti misero intimavere. Sed ille parvipendens, acceptis quæ poposcerat, citius recessit; et, secundum Sancti propheticum verbum, ante finem ejusdem septimanæ mortuus est.

CAPUT XXVIII.

De Romani juris civitate¹ igni sulfureo cœlitus prolapso combusta Sancti Viri prophetia.

ALIO itidem in tempore, Lugbeus gente Mocumin, cujus supra mentionem fecimus, quadam ad Sanctum die post frugum veniens triturationem, nullo modo ejus faciem intueri potuit, miro superfusam rubore; valdeque pertimescens cito aufugit. Quem Sanctus complosis paululum manibus revocat. Qui reversus, a Sancto statim interrogatus, cur ocius aufugisset, hoc dedit responsum: Ideo fugi, quia nimis pertimui. Et post aliquod modicum intervallum, fiducialius agens, audet Sanctum interrogare, inquiens: Numquid hac in hora aliqua tibi formidabilis ostensa visio est? Cui Sanctus talem dedit responsum: Tam terrificæ ultio nunc in remota orbis parte peracta est. Qualis, ait juvenis, vindicta, et in qua regione facta?

¹ The city of Almonia, now Cittanova, on the north of the river Quieto, in Istria.

Sanctus tum sic profatur: Sulfurea de cœlo flamma super Romani juris civitatem, intra Italiæ terminos sitam, hac hora effusa est; triaque ferme millia virorum, excepto matrum puerorumque numero, disperierunt. Et antequam præsens finiatur annus, Gallici nautæ, de Galliarum provinciis adventantes, hæc eadem tibi enarrabunt. Quæ verba post aliquot menses veridica fuisse sunt comprobata. Nam idem Lugbeus, simul cum sancto viro ad Caput Regionis² pergens, nauclerum et nautas adventantis barcæ interrogans, sic omnia illa de civitate cum civibus ab eis audit enarrata, quemadmodum a prædicabili viro sunt prædicta.

CAPUT XXIX.

De Laisrano¹ filio Feradachi Beati visio Viri.

QUADAM brumali et valde frigida die Sanctus, magno molestatus mærore, flevit. Quem suus ministrator Diormitius, de causa interrogans mæstitiæ, hoc ab eo responsum accepit: Non immerito, O filiule, ego hac in hora contristor, meos videns monachos, quos Laisranus nunc gravi fatigatos labore in alicujus majoris domus² fabrica molestat; quæ mihi valde displicet. Mirum dictu! eodem momento horæ Laisranus habitans in monasterio Roboreti Campi,³ quodammodo coactus, et quasi quadam pyra⁴ intrinsecus succensus, jubet monachos a labore cessare, aliquamque cibationum consolationem præparari; et non solum in eadem die otiari, sed et in cæteris asperæ tempestatis diebus requiescere. Quæ verba ad fratres consolatoria, a Laisrano dicta, Sanctus in spiritu audiens flere cessavit, et mirabiliter gavisus ipse in Iona insula commanens, fratribus, qui ad præsens inerant, per omnia enarravit, et Laisranum monachorum benedixit consolatorem.

² Kyntyre.

¹ Afterwards third abbot of Hy, 598-606. His father was first cousin of St. Columba.

² See III., 15, *infra*.

³ Now Durrow in King's County. See I., 3, 49; II., 2, 36; III., 15.

⁴ For *igni*.

CAPUT XXX.

De Fechno sapiente viro quomodo pœnitens ad Sanctum Columbam, ab eodem prænunciatus, venit.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus, in cacumine sedens montis qui nostro huic monasterio eminus supereminet, ad suum ministratorem Diormitium conversus, profatur, dicens: Miror quare tardius appropinquat quædam de Scotia navis, quæ quemdam advehit sapientem virum, qui in quodam facinore lapsus, lacrymosam gerens pœnitudinem, mox adveniet. Post proinde haud grande intervallum ad austrum prospiciens minister, velum navis videt ad portum propinquantis: quam cum Sancto adventantem demonstraret, cito surgit,¹ inquiens: Eamus proselyto obviam, cujus veram Christus suscipit² pœnitentiam. At vero Fechnaus, de navi descendens, Sancto ad portum pervenienti obvius occurrit; cum fletu et lamento, ante pedes ejus ingenuculans flexis genibus, amarissime ingemuit, et coram omnibus qui ibidem inerant, culpas confitetur suas. Sanctus tum, cum eo pariter illacrymatus, ad eum ait: Surge fili, et consolare; dimissa sunt tua quæ commisisti, peccamina; quia, sicut scriptum est: Deus contritum non spernit et humiliatum cor.³ Qui surgens, gaudenter a Sancto susceptus ad Baitheneum tunc temporis in Campo Lunge⁴ præpositum commorantem, post aliquot est emissus dies, in pace commigrans.

CAPUT XXXI.

De Caillano ejus monacho Sancti prophetatio Viri.

ALIO in tempore binos mittens monachos ad suum alium monachum, nomine Caillanum, qui eodem tempore præpositus

¹ surge, B.

² suscepit, B.

³ "Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non despicies." Ps. l. 18, Vulg.

⁴ In the island of Tiree. See *supra*, c. 19.

erat in cella quæ hodieque ejus fratris Diuni vocabulo vocitatur, stagno adhærens Abæ fluminis,¹ hæc per eosdem nuncios Sanctus commendat verba : Cito euntes ad Cailtanum properate diciteque ei ut ad me sine ulla veniat morula. Qui verbo Sancti obsecuti exeuntes, et ad cellam Diuni pervenientes, suæ legati-unculæ qualitatem Cailtano intimaverunt. Qui eadem hora, nullo demoratus modo, Sancti prosecutus legatos, ad eum in Iona insula commorantem, eorum itineris comes, celeriter pervenit. Quo viso, Sanctus ad eum taliter locutus, his compellat verbis : O Cailtane, bene fecisti ad me obedienter festinando : requiesce paulisper : idcirco ad te invitandum misi, amans amicum, ut hic mecum in vera finias obedientia vitæ cursum tuæ. Nam ante hujus hebdomadis finem ad Dominum in pace transibis. Quibus auditis, gratias agens Deo, Sanctumque lacrymans exosculatus, ad hospitium, accepta ab eo benedictione, pergit : eademque subsecuta infirmatus nocte, juxta verbum Sancti in eadem septimana ad Christum Dominum² emigravit.

CAPUT XXXII.

De duobus peregrinis fratribus Sancti provida prophetatio Viri.

QUADAM Dominica die ultra sæpe memoratum clamatum est fretum. Quem audiens Sanctus clamorem, ad fratres qui ibidem inerant : Ite, ait, celeriter, peregrinosque de longinqua venientes regione ad nos ocius adducite. Qui continuo obsecuti, transfretantes adduxerunt hospites : quos Sanctus exosculatus, consequenter de causa percontatur itineris. Qui respondentes aiunt : Ut hoc etiam anno apud te peregrinemur, venimus. Quibus Sanctus hanc dedit responsionem : Apud me, ut dicitis, anni unius spatio peregrinari non poteritis, nisi prius monachicum promiseritis votum. Quod qui inerant præsentibus valde mirati sunt ad hospites eadem hora adventantes dici. Ad quæ Sancti

¹ Drs. Smith and Lannigan understand this of Loch Awe ; but the place it indicates is uncertain. See Dr. Reeves' note *in loc.* p. 60.

² Not in B., but inserted by Pinkerton. It occurs in A. and other MSS.

verba senior respondens frater ait : Hoc in mente propositum licet in hanc horam usque nullatenus habuerimus, tamen tuum sequemur consilium, divinitus, ut credimus, inspiratum. Quid plura? Eodem horæ momento oratorium cum Sancto ingressi, devote, flexis genibus, votum monachile voverunt. Sanctus tum deinde, ad fratres conversus, ait : Hi duo proselyti vivam Deo seipsos exhibentes hostiam, longaue in brevi Christianæ tempora militiæ complentes, hoc mox eodem mense ad Christum Dominum in pace transibunt. Quibus auditis ambo fratres, gratias Deo agentes, ad hospitium deducti sunt ; interjectisque diebus septem, senior frater cœpit infirmari, et, eadem peracta septimana, ad Dominum emigravit. Similiter et alter post septem alios dies infirmatus, ejusdem in fine hebdomadis, ad Dominum feliciter transit. Et sic secundum Sancti veridicam prophetiam, intra ejusdem mensis terminum, ambo præsentem finiunt vitam.

CAPUT XXXIII.

De quodam Artbranano¹ Sancti prophetia Viri.

CUM per aliquot dies in insula demoraretur Scia vir beatus, alicujus loci terrulam mari vicinam baculo percutiens, ad comites sic ait : Mirum dictu, O filioli ! hodie in hac hujus loci terrula quidam gentilis senex, naturale per totam bonum custodiens vitam, et baptizabitur, et morietur, et sepelietur. Et ecce, quasi post unius intervallum horæ, navicula ad eundem supervenit portum ; cujus in prora quidam advectus est decrepitus senex, primarius Geonæ cohortis,² quem bini juvenes, de navi suble-

¹ A Gaelic as well as a Pictish name, signifying Noble Raven, Hardy Raven, or Rock Raven.

² Cott. Geonæ primarius cohortes, Reeves. Geonæ insulæ Primarius cohortes, Col. and Boll. There is no authority for the insertion of "insulæ." What island or place is meant has not been made out. "The Geona cohors was probably a Pictish corps, deriving its name from the district to which it belonged." Reeves' *Adamn.*, p. 62.

vantes, ante beati conspectum viri deponunt. Qui statim, verbo Dei a Sancto per interpretem recepto, credens, ab eodem baptizatus est, et post expleta baptismationis misteria,³ sicuti Sanctus prophetizavit, eodem in loco consequenter obiit, ibidemque socii, congesto lapidum acervo sepeliunt. Qui hodieque in ora cernitur maritima; fluviisque ejusdem loci in quo idem baptisma acceperat, ex nomine ejus, Dobur Artbranani usque in hodiernum nominatus diem, ab accolis vocitatur.

CAPUT XXXIV.

24

De navicula transmutata Sancto præcipiente.

ALIO in tempore trans Britanniae Dorsum¹ iter agens, aliquo in desertis viculo agellis reperto, ibidem juxta alicujus marginem rivuli stagnum² intrantis, Sanctus mansionem faciens, eadem nocte dormientes, semisopore degustato, suscitavit comites, dicens: Nunc, nunc, celerius foras exeuntes, nostram quam ultra rivum naviculam³ posuistis in domo huc citius advehite, et in viciniore domuncula ponite. Qui continuo obediens, sicut præceptum est, fecerunt: ipsisque iterum quiescentibus, Sanctus post quoddam intervallum silenter Diormitium pulsavit, inquiens: Nunc stans extra domum aspice quid in illo agitur viculo, ubi prius vestram⁴ posuistis naviculam. Qui Sancti præcepto obsecutus, domum egreditur, et respiciens videt vicum flamma vastante totum concremari: reversusque ad Sanctum quod ibidem agebatur retulit. Sanctus proinde fratribus de quodam narravit æmulo persecutore qui eadem domus eadem incenderat nocte.

³ B. Cott. ministeria, A.

¹ Drum-Bretain or Drum Alban, the chain of mountains stretching across the country, separating Perthshire from Argyleshire and terminating in the East near Stonehaven.

² Not yet identified.

³ "A currach, which, being made of wicker-work covered with hide, was easily carried. The river seems to have been an inconsiderable one, as the messenger crossed it on foot, unless we interpret *ultra* as meaning 'having crossed.'" Reeves. See the Life of St. Ninian, c. 10, note.

⁴ A. nostram, B.

CAPUT XXXV.

De Gallano filio Fachtni¹ qui erat in diocesi Colgion filii Cellachi.

QUADAM itidem die Sanctus, in suo sedens tuguriolo, Colgio eidem, lectitanti juxta se, prophetizans ait: Nunc unum tenacem primarium de tuæ præpositis dioceseseos, dæmones ad inferna rapiunt. At vero hoc audiens Colgius tempus et horam in tabula describens, post aliquot menses ad patriam reversus, Gallanum filium Fachtni,¹ eodem horæ momento obisse, ab accolis ejusdem regionis percunctatus, invenit, quo vir beatus eidem a dæmonibus raptum enarravit.

CAPUT XXXVI.

De Findchano presbitero, illius monasterii fundatore quod Scotice Ardcaiin¹ nuncupatur, in Ethica terra.

ALIO in tempore supra memoratus presbiter Findchanus,² Christi miles, Aidum cognomento Nigrum,³ regio genere ortum, Cruthinicum gente,⁴ de Scotia ad Britanniam sub clericatus habitu secum adduxit; ut in suo apud se monasterio per aliquot peregrinaretur annos. Qui scilicet Aidus Niger valde sanguinarius homo et multorum fuerat trucidator; qui et Diormitium⁵ filium Cerbulis, totius Scotiæ regnatorem, Deo

¹ A.

¹ Artchain, A.

² Known among the Lowland Scotch as St. Fink. His name is preserved in Kilfinichen, the name of a parish in Mull.

³ Son of Suibhne, and chief of Dal Araidhe in 565. He became King of Uladh in 581, and lost his life in 588.

⁴ Irish Picts.

⁵ He became sovereign of Ireland in 544. He was the patron of St. Ciaran, and was slain in 565 at Rath-beg in Magh-Line by Aedh Dubh, son of Suibhne Araidhe, king of Uladh. During his reign Tara ceased to be a regal abode.

auctore ordinatum, interfecerat. Hic itaque idem Aidus, post aliquantum in peregrinatione transactum tempus, accito episcopo, quamvis non recte, apud supradictum Findchanum presbiter ordinatus est. Episcopus tamen non est ausus super caput ejus manum imponere, nisi prius idem Findchanus, Aidum carnaliter amans, suam capiti ejus pro confirmatione imponeret dexteram. Quæ talis ordinatio cum postea sancto intimaretur viro, ægre tulit: tum proinde hanc de illo Findchano et de Aido ordinato formidabilem profatur sententiam, inquit: Illa manus dextra quam Findchanus, contra fas, et jus ecclesiasticum, super caput filii perditionis imposuit, mox computrescet, et post magnos dolorum cruciatus ipsum in terra sepelienda præcedet; et ipse post suam humatam manum per multos superstes victurus est annos. Ordinatus vero indebite Aidus, sicuti canis, ad vomitum revertetur suum, et ipse rursum sanguilentus trucidator existet, et ad ultimum lancea jugulatus, de ligno in aquam cadens, submersus morietur. Talem multo prius terminum promeruit vitæ, qui totius regem trucidavit Scotiæ. Quæ beati viri prophetia de utroque adimpleta est; nam presbiteri Findchani dexter per pugnum putrefactus in terram eum præcessit, in illa sepultus insula quæ Omon⁶ nuncupatur: ipse vero, juxta verbum sancti Columbæ, per multos post vixit annos. Aidus vero Niger, solummodo nomine presbiter, ad sua priora reversus scelera, dolo lancea transfixus, de prora ratis in aquam lapsus stagneam, disperiit.⁷

CAPUT XXXVII.

De quodam Sancti solamine spiritus Monachis in via laboriosis misso.

INTER has prædicabiles prophetici spiritus prophetationes non ab re videtur etiam de quadam spiritali consolatione nostris

⁶ Ommon, A. Not identified.

⁷ According to Tighernach in 588. The "aqua stagnæ" which received him was probably Lough Neah.

commemorare literulis, quam aliquando sancti Columbæ monachi, spiritu ejus ipsis in via obviante, sentiebant. Alio namque in tempore, fratres, post missionis opera, vespere ad monasterium redeuntes, et ad illum pervenientes locum qui Scotice nuncupatur Cuuleilne, qui utique locus inter occidentalem Ionæ insulæ campulum¹ et nostrum monasterium medius esse dicitur; mirum quid, et inconsuetum singuli sibi sentire videbantur; quod tamen alius alii intimare nullo modo audebat. Et sic per aliquot dies eodem in loco, eademque vespertina sentiebant hora. Fuit autem iisdem diebus sanctus Baitheneus inter eos operum dispensator, qui sic ad ipsos alia die est prolocutus, inquiens: Nunc, fratres, confiteri debetis singuli si aliquod in hoc medio loco inter messem et monasterium inconsuetum et inopinatum sentitis miraculum. Unus tum ex eis senior: Juxta tuam, ait, jussionem, quod mihi hoc in loco ostensum est dicam; nam et in his prætereuntibus dieculis, et nunc etiam, quandam miri odoris fragrantiam,² ac si universorum florum in unum sentio collectorum; quendam quoque, quasi ignis ardorem, non pœnalem, sed quodam modo suavem; sed et quandam in corde insuetam et incomparabilem infusam lætificationem, quæ me subito mirabiliter consolatur, et in tantum lætificat ut nullius mæroris, nullius laboris, meminisse possim. Sed et onus quod meo, quamvis grave, porto in dorso, ab hoc loco usque quo ad monasterium perveniatur, quomodo nescio in tantum relevatur, ut me oneratum non sentiam. Quid plura? Sic omnes illi messorum operarii de se singillatim profitentur, per omnia sensisse, sicuti unus ex eis coram enarraverat,³ singulique simul flexis genibus a sancto postularunt Baitheneo, ut ejusdem miri solaminis causam et originem, quod et ipse, sicut et cæteri sentiebant, illis ignorantibus, intimare procuraret. Quibus consequenter hoc dedit responsum: Scitis, inquiens, quod noster senior Columba de nobis anxie cogitet, et nos ad se tardius pervenientes ægre ferat nostri memor la-

¹ "It is now called the *Ma-char*, or Plain, and is the most level and productive part of the island. Here is the *Cnoc Aingel*, mentioned at II. 44, III. 16." Reeves *in loc.* See also the Life by Cumman c. 11, n. 3.

² fragrantiam, A.B.

³ enarravit, B.

boris, et idcirco, quia corporaliter obviam nobis non venit, spiritus ejus nostris obviat gressibus, qui taliter nos consolans lætificat. Quibus auditis verbis, ingeniculantes, cum ingenti gratulatione, expansis ad cœlum manibus, Christum in sancto venerantur et beato viro.

Sed et hoc silere non debemus quod nobis ab expertis quibusdam de voce beati psalmodiæ viri indubitanter traditum est. Quæ scilicet vox venerabilis viri in ecclesia cum fratribus decantantis, aliquando per quatuor stadia, hoc est, quingentos passus, aliquando vero per octo, hoc est, mille passus, incomparabili elevata modo audiebatur.⁴ Mirum dictu! Nec in auribus eorum, qui secum in ecclesia stabant vox ejus modum humanæ vocis in clamoris granditate excedebat. Sed tamen eadem hora, qui ultra mille passuum longinquitatem stabant, sic clare eandem audiebant vocem, ut illos quos canebat versiculos etiam per singulas possent distinguere syllabas. Similiter enim ejus vox in auribus prope et longe audientium personabat. Sed hoc de voce miraculum beati viri non semper, sed raro, accidisse comprobatur; quod tamen sine Divini Spiritus gratia nullo modo fieri potuisset.

Sed et illud non est tacendum, quod aliquando de tali et incomparabili vocis ejus sublevatione juxta Brudei regis munitionem⁵ accidisse traditur. Nam ipse Sanctus cum paucis fratribus extra regis munitionem dum vespertinales Dei laudes

⁴ The following anecdote illustrative of the power of St. Columba's voice is told in the Irish Life preserved in the Book of Lismore: "Another time he and his guardian went to attend a sick man. As they were going through a wood, the cleric's (Cruithnechan's) foot slipped on the path, so that he fell and died suddenly. He (Colum Cille) placed his cloak under the cleric's head, thinking that he was asleep, and began rehearsing his lessons, so that some nuns heard his loud reading at their church. What the learned relate, is that there was a mile and a half between them, and the sound of his voice used to be often heard that distance, ut dixit :

The sound of Colum Cille's voice—
Great its sweetness above all clerics—
To the end of fifteen hundred paces,
Though vast the distance so far 'twas clear."

Skene's *Celtic Scot.* ii. p. 478.

⁵ Situated near the north-east end of Loch Ness. See II. 33.

ex more celebraret, quidam Magi,⁶ ad eos propius accedentes, in quantum poterant, prohibere conabantur, ne de ore ipsorum divinæ laudis sonus inter Gentiles audiretur populos. Quo comperto Sanctus quadragesimum et quartum psalmum decantare cœpit, mirumque in modum ita vox ejus in ære eodem momento instar alicujus formidabilis tonitruï elevata est, ut et rex et populus intolerabili essent pavore perterriti.

CAPUT XXXVIII.

De quodam divite qui Lugudius Clodus vocitabatur.

ALIO in tempore, cum in Scotia per aliquot Sanctus demoraretur dies, alium currui insidentem videns clericum, qui gaudenter peragrabat Campum Breg¹; primo interrogans de eo quis esset, hoc ab amicis ejusdem viri de eo accipit responsum: Hic est Lugudius Clodus, homo dives et honoratus in plebe. Sanctus consequenter respondens inquit: Non ita video; sed homuncio miser et pauper, in die qua morietur, tria apud se vicinorum prætersoria² in una retentabit maceria,³ unamque electam de vaccis prætersoriorum occidi jubebit sibi, de cujus cocta carne postulabit aliquam sibi partem dari, cum meretrice in eodem lectulo cubanti. De qua utique particula morsum accipiens, statim ibidem strangulabitur et morietur. Quæ omnia, sicuti ab expertis traditur, juxta Sancti prophetiam adimpleta sunt.

⁶ Druids.

¹ The plain of East Meath, said to have received its name from Bregha, son of Breogan, a Milesian chief. A hill in the north-east of the county of Meath is still called Slieve Bregh.

² Stray or trespassing cattle. Colgan's note on the passage, *Tr. Th.* p. 379 *b. n.* 83, is: "Per prætersorium videtur intelligere par boum, vel gregem, depascentem segetem alienam."

³ A cashel, or walled enclosure.

CAPUT XXXIX.

De Nemanio filio Gruthriche¹ Sancti prophetiæ verbum.

HUNC enim cum Sanctus de malis suis corripere, parvipendens Sanctum subsannabat. Cui respondens vir beatus ait: In nomine Domini, Nemanie, aliqua de te veridica loquar verba. Inimici tui reperient te, in eodem cum meretrice cubantem cubiculo, ibidemque trucidaberis. Dæmones quoque ad loca pœnarum tuam rapiunt animam. Hic idem Nemanus, post aliquot annos, in uno cum meretrice lectulo repertus in regione Cainle,² juxta verbum Sancti ab inimicis decapitatus disperiit.

CAPUT XL.

De quodam presbitero qui erat in Triota Sancti Viri prophetia.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus, cum in Scotiensium paulo superius moraretur memorata regione,³ casu Dominica die ad quoddam devenit vicinum monasterium, quod Scotice Triota⁴ vocitatur. Eadem proinde die quendam audiens presbyterum sacra eucharistiæ mysteria conficientem, quem ideo fratres, qui ibidem commanebant, ad missarum elegerant peragenda sollemnia, quia valde religiosum æstimabant, repente hanc formidabilem de ore profert vocem: Munda et immunda pariter nunc misceri cernuntur, hoc est, munda sacræ oblationis mysteria per immundum hominem ministrata, qui in sua in-

¹ A. gluteriche, B.

² Called Mons Cainle at II. 17. Not yet identified.

³ "Probably, not the regio Cainle of last chapter, but the Campus Breg of chap. 38." Reeves *in loc.*

⁴ trioit, A. Trevet, a parish in the barony of Skreen and county of Meath. The founder of the monastery was probably St. Lonan, who is commemorated at Nov.

1. Though styled monasterium in the text, it rose to considerable importance, and in 769, 898, and 1004 was administered by episcopal abbots.

terim conscientia aliquod grande occulat facinus. Hæc qui in-
erant audientes tremefacti nimis obstupere. Ille vero de quo
hæc dicebantur verba coram omnibus peccatum suum com-
pulsus est confiteri. Christique commilitones, qui in ecclesia
Sanctum circumstantes occulta cordis audierant manifestantem
divinam, in eo scientiam cum magna admiratione glorificarunt.

CAPUT XLI.

*De Erco fure Mocudruidi,¹ qui in Coloso insula commanebat
Sancti prophetatio Viri.*

ALIO tempore Sanctus in Iona commanens insula, accitis ad se
binis de fratribus viris, quorum vocabula Lugbeus et Silnanus,²
eisdem præcipiens dixit: Nunc ad Maleam transfretate insulam,
et in campulis mari vicinis Ercum quærite furacem; qui nocte
præterita solus occulte de insula Coloso³ perveniens, sub suo
feno tecta navicula inter arenarum cumulos, per diem se oc-
cultare conatur, ut noctu ad parvam transnaviget insulam,⁴ ubi
marini nostri juris vituli⁴ generantur et generant; ut de illis
furenter occisis edax valde furax, suam replens naviculam, ad
suum repedet habitaculum. Qui hæc audientes, obsecuti, emi-
grant, furemque in locis a Sancto præsignatis absconsum re-
periunt, et ad Sanctum, sicut illis præceperat, perduxerunt.
Quo viso Sanctus ad eum dicit: Quare tu res alienas, divinum
transgressus mandatum, sæpe furaris? Quando necesse habueris,
ad nos veniens necessaria accipies postulata. Et hæc dicens
præcipit verveces occidi, et pro phocis dari misero furaci, ne
vacuus ad sua remearet. Et post aliquantum tempus Sanctus,

¹ mocudriudi, lubbeus et selnanus, B.

² In all likelihood the larger of the two islands named Colonsay, and lying to the south-east of Hy.

³ Supposed by Dr. Reeves to be Erraid Isle, the largest of a little group of islands at the south entrance of the Sound, south-east of Hy, and close to the shore of Mull.

⁴ Seals. Eight lines below they are called phocæ.

in spiritu vicinam furis prævidens mortem, ad Baitheneum eo tempore præpositum commorantem in Campo Lunge mittit, ut eidem furi quoddam pingue pecus et sex modios novissima mittat munera. Quibus a Baitheneo, sicut Sanctus commendaverat, transmissis, ea die inventus est morte subita præventus furax misellus, et in exequiis ejus transmissa expensa sunt xenia.

CAPUT XLII.

De Cronano poeta Sancti prophetia Viri.

ALIO in tempore, Sanctus cum juxta Stagnum Cei,¹ prope ostium fluminis, quod latine Bos dicitur, die aliqua cum fratribus sederet, quidam ad eos Scotticus poeta devenit; qui cum post aliquam recessisset sermocinationem, fratres ad Sanctum: Cur, aiunt, a nobis regrediente Cronano poeta aliquod ex more suæ artis canticum non postulasti modulabiliter decantari? Quibus Sanctus: Quare et vos nunc inutilia profertis verba? Quomodo ab illo misero homuncione carmen postularem lætitiæ, qui nunc, ab inimicis trucidatus, finem ad usque ocus pervenit vitæ. His a Sancto dictis, et ecce ultra flumen aliquis clamitat homo, dicens: Ille poeta, qui a vobis nuper sospes rediit, hora in hac ab inimicis in via interfectus est. Omnes tunc, qui præsentibus inerant valde mirati, se invicem intuentes obstupere.

CAPUT XLIII.

De duobus Tigernis¹ Sancti vaticinatio Viri, qui ambo mutuis vulneribus disperierant.

ALIO itidem in tempore Sanctus in Iona conversans insula,

¹ Lough Key, situated to the north-east of the town of Boyle, in the northern part of the county of Roscommon.

¹ Noblemen. *Tigernus* is a Latin transformation of the Irish noun *Tigherna*, a lord, and pointing to its derivation from *tig*, a house.

repente inter legendum summo, cum ingenti admiratione, gemitu ingemuit mæsto. Quod videns, qui præsens inerat, Lugbeus Mocublai cœpit ab eo percunctari subiti causam mæroris. Cui Sanctus valde mæstificatus hanc dedit respon- sionem : Duo quidam nunc regii generis viri in Scotia mutuis inter se vulneribus transfixi disperierunt, haud procul a monas- terio, quod dicitur Cellrois² in provincia Maugdornorum,³ octa- vaque die, hac peracta hebdomade, ultra fretum alius clamitabit, qui hæc, de Hibernia veniens, ita taliter facta enarrabit. Sed hoc, O filiole, quamdiu vixero nemini indices. Octava proinde ultra fretum clamatum est die. Sanctus tum supra memoratum ad se Lugbeum vocans, silenter ad eum ait : Qui nunc clamitat ultra fretum ipse est, de quo tibi prius dixeram, longævus viator. Vade, et adduc eum ad nos. Qui celeriter adductus, inter cætera, hoc etiam retulit : Duo, inquiens, in parte Maugdor- norum,³ nobiles viri, se mutuo vulnerantes, mortui sunt ; hoc est, Colman Canis, filius Aileni, et Ronanus filius Aido filii Colgen, de Anteriorum⁴ genere, prope fines illorum locorum, ubi illud monasterium cernitur quod dicitur Cellrois.

Post hæc illius verba narrationis, idem Lugbeus, Christi miles, Sanctum seorsum cœpit interrogare, dicens : Quæso mihi de his talibus narres propheticis revelationibus quomodo, si per visum tibi, an auditu, an alio, hominibus incognito, manifestantur modo. Ad hæc Sanctus : De qua nunc, ait, inquiris valde subtili re nullatenus tibi quamlibet aliquam intimare particulam potero, nisi prius, flexis genibus, per nomen excelsi Dei mihi firmiter promittas hoc te obscurissimum sacramentum⁵ nulli unquam hominum cunctis diebus vitæ meæ enarraturum. Qui, hæc audiens, flexit continuo genua, et, prostrato in terram vultu, juxta Sancti præceptionem plene omnia promisit. Qua statim perfecta promissione, Sanctus ad surgentem sic locutus inquit : Sunt nonnulli, quamlibet pauci admodum, quibus divina hoc

² A. cellros B. Now Magheross, a parish in the county of Monaghan.

³ A. maugdorneorum B.

⁴ Equivalent to *Orientalium*, applied to the Airtheara, or people of Oriel in Ulster.

⁵ That is, mystery.

contulit gratia, ut etiam totum, licet non semper, totius terræ orbem, cum ambitu oceani et cœli, uno eodemque momento, quasi sub uno solis radio, mirabiliter laxato mentis sinu, clare et manifestissime speculentur.

Hoc miraculum Sanctus, quamvis de aliis electis dicere videatur, vanam utique fugiens gloriam, de seipso tamen dixisse, per obliquum licet, nullus dubitare debet, qui Paulum legit Apostolum, vas electionis, de talibus narrantem sibi revelatis visionibus. Non enim ita scripsit : Scio me, sed Scio hominem raptum usque ad tertium cœlum. Quod quamlibet de alio dicere videatur, nemo tamen dubitat sic de propria, humilitatem custodiens, enarrare persona. Quem etiam et noster Columba in spiritalium visionum narratione secutus est superius memorata, quam ab eo supradictus vir, quem plurimum Sanctus amabat, magnis precibus præmissis, vix potuit extorquere, sicut ipse coram aliorum personis sanctorum, post sancti Columbæ transitum, testatus est : a quibus hæc quæ de Sancto supra narravimus indubitanter didicimus.

CAPUT XLIV.

De Cronano Episcopo.¹

ALIO in tempore, quidam de Muminensium provincia² proselytus³ ad Sanctum venit ; qui se in quantum potuit occultabat humiliter, ut nullus sciret quod esset episcopus : sed tamen Sanctum hoc non potuit latere. Nam alia die Dominica a Sancto jussus Christi corpus ex more conficere, Sanctum advocat, ut simul, quasi duo presbyteri, Dominicum panem frangerent. Sanctus proinde ad altarium accedens, repente intuitus faciem ejus, sic eum compellat : Benedicat te Christus, frater ; hunc solus, episcopali ritu, frange panem. Nunc scimus quod sis episcopus. Quare hucusque te occultare conatus es,

¹ Identified by Colgan with the Bishop Cronan whom he mentions at Feb. 9.

² Munster.

³ Called also *pergrinus*, as at the end of the chapter.

ut tibi a nobis debita non redderetur veneratio? Quo audito Sancti verbo, humilis peregrinus, valde stupefactus, Christum in Sancto veneratus est; et qui inerant præsentes nimis admirati, glorificarunt Deum.

CAPUT XLV.

De Ernano presbytero Sancti prophetia Viri.

ALIO itidem in tempore, vir venerandus Ernanum presbyterum, senem, suum avunculum ad præposituram illius monasterii transmisit, quod in Hinba insula ante plures fundaverat annos. Itaque cum ipsum Sanctus emigrantem exosculatus benediceret, hoc de eo intulit vaticinium dicens: Hunc meum nunc egredientem amicum non me spero iterum in hoc sæculo viventem visurum. Itaque idem Ernanus, post non multos dies, quadam molestatus ægrimonia, ad Sanctum volens reportatus est; cujus in perventione valde gavisus, ire obvius ad portum cœpit. Ipse vero Ernanus, quamlibet infirmis, propriis tamen, vestigiis a portu obviare Sancto conabatur valde alacer. Sed cum esset inter ambos quasi viginti quatuor passuum interval- lum, subita morte præventus, priusquam Sanctus faciem ejus videret viventis, expirans in terram cecidit, ne verbum Sancti ullo frustraretur modo. Unde in eodem loco ante januam canabæ¹ crux infixæ est, et altera ubi Sanctus restitit, illo expirante, similiter crux hodieque infixæ stat.

CAPUT XLVI.

De alicujus plebeii familiola Sancti prophetia Viri.

ALIO quoque in tempore, quidam inter cæteros ad Sanctum plebeius venit in loco hospitantem qui Scottice vocitatur Coire

¹ Explained by Dr. Reeves as a kiln, p. 88.

Salchain¹; quem cum Sanctus ad se vespere venientem vidisset : Ubi, ait, habitas? Ille inquit : In regione, quæ littoribus stagni Crogreth² est contermina ego inhabito. Illam, quam dicis provinciolum, ait Sanctus, nunc barbari populantur vastatores. Quo audito, miser plebeius maritam et filios deplangere cœpit. Quem Sanctus valde mærentem videns, consolans inquit : Vade, homuncule, vade, tua familiola tota in montem fugiens evasit ; tua vero omnia pecuscula secum invasores abegerunt,³ omnemque domus suppellectilem similiter sævi raptores cum præda rapuere. Hæc audiens plebeius, ad patriam regressus, cuncta, sicut a Sancto prædicta, sic invenit expleta.

CAPUT XLVII.

De quodam plebeio, Goreo nomine, filio Aidani, Sancti prophetia Viri.

ALIO itidem in tempore quidam plebeius, omnium illius ætatis in populo Korkureti¹ fortissimus virorum, a sancto percunctatur viro, qua morte esset præveniendus. Cui Sanctus : Nec in bello, ait, nec in mari morieris : comes tui itineris, a quo non suspicaris, causa erit tuæ mortis. Fortassis, inquit Goreus, aliquis de meis comitantibus amicis me trucidare cogitet, aut marita ob alicujus junioris viri amorem me maleficio mortificare. Sanctus : Non ita, ait, continget. Quare, Goreus inquit, de meo interfectore mihi nunc intimare non vis? Sanctus : Idcirco, ait, nolo tibi de illo tuo comite nocuo nunc manifestius aliquid edicere, ne te ejus crebra recogniti recordatio nimis mæstificet, donec veniat dies, qua ejusdem rei veritatem probabis. Quid immoramur verbis? Post aliquot annorum

¹ salcani, B. Perhaps Corrie Sallachan, now Corry, in Morven.

² crochreth, B. Placed by Colgan in Ireland, but probably near the border land in the neighbourhood of the Picts and Saxons.

³ ambigerunt, B.

⁴ coiforepti, B. Probably Corkaree, a barony in Westmeath, to the north of Mullingar ; but its identity is doubtful.

excursus, idem supra memoratus Goreus, casu alia die sub navi residens, cultello proprio cristiliam de hastili eradebat : tum deinde alios prope inter se belligerantes audiens, citius surgit, ut eos a belligeratione separaret, eodemque cultello illa subita-tione negligentius in terra demisso, ejus genicula offenso gravi-ter vulnerata est. Et tali faciente comite, causa ei mortificationis oborta est ; quam ipse continuo secundum, sancti vaticinationem viri, mente percussus, recognovit ; postque aliquantos menses, eodem aggravatus dolore, moritur.

CAPUT XLVIII.

*De alia etiam re, quamlibet minore, puto non esse tacenda
Sancti jucunda præscientia et prophetica Viri.*

ALIO namque in tempore, cum Sanctus in Iona inhabitaret insula, unum de fratribus advocans, sic compellat : Tertia ab hac illucescente die expectare debebis in occidentali hujus in-sulæ parte, super maris oram sedens. Nam de aquilonali Hiberniæ regione quædam hospita grus, ventis per longos aeris agitata circuitus, post nonam diei horam valde fessa et fatigata superveniet, et pene consumptis viribus, coram te in littore cadens recumbet ; quam misericorditer sublevare curabis, et ad propinquam deportabis domum, ibidemque hospitaliter recep-tam, per tres dies et noctes ei ministrans, sollicite cibabis ; et post expleto recreata triduo, nolens ultra apud nos peregrinari, ad priorem Scotiæ dulcem, unde orta, remeabit regionem, plene resumptis viribus ; quam ideo tibi sic diligenter commendo, quia de nostræ paternitatis regione¹ est oriunda. Obsecundat frater, tertiaque die post horam nonam, ut jussus, præscitæ adventum præstolatur hospitæ, adventantemque de littore levat lapsam, ad hospitium portat infirmam, esurientem cibis. Cui ad monasterium vespere reverso Sanctus, non interrogans sed narrans, ait : Benedicat te Deus, mi fili, quia peregrinæ bene ministrasti hospitæ, quæ in pregrinatione non demorabitur, sed

¹ Donegal, where, at Gartan, St. Columba was born.

post ternos soles ad patriam repedabit. Quod ita ut Sanctus prædixit, et res etiam probavit. Nam trinalibus hospitata diebus, coram hospite ministro de terra se primum volando elevans in sublime, paulisperque in aere viam speculata, oceani transvadato æquore, ad Hiberniam recto volatus cursu die repedavit tranquillo.

CAPUT XLIX.

De bello quod in munitione Cethirni post multa commissum est tempora, et de quodam fonticulo ejusdem terrulæ proximo, Sancti præscientia Viri.

ALIO in tempore vir beatus cum post regum in Dorso Cette conductum,¹ Aidi² videlicet filii Ainmurech, et Aidani³ filii Gabrani, ad campos reverteretur æquoreos, ipse et Comgellus⁴ abbas, quadam serena æstivi temporis die, haud procul a supra memorata munitione resident. Tum proinde aqua de quodam proximo ad manus lavandas fonticulo ad Sanctos in æneo defertur vasculo. Quam cum sanctus Columba accepisset, ad

¹ The Convention of Druim-ceatt, held A.D. 575. Previous to this convention the Dalriads seem to have been considered as forming a part of Irish Dalriada, and as a colony from them, to have been subject to the mother tribe. St. Columba attended the convention along with Aidan, and the main question which appears to have been discussed between him and the Irish King was the future relation of Scotch Dalriada towards Ireland. The agreement come to was that the Scotch Dalriads should be freed from all tributes and exactions, but should join with the Irish Dalriada, as the parent stock, in all hostings and expeditions. Aidan thus became the first independent monarch of Scotch Dalriada. See Skene's *Celt. Scot.*, i., p. 143, and Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 92.

² He was sovereign of Ireland, and died in 598.

³ For his inauguration by St. Columba, see III., 5, *infra*. Dr. Skene doubts the Saint's unwillingness to inaugurate him, and says: "It is more probable that he was led to prefer Aidan [to his brother Eoganan, who, according to the law of tanistry, was the rightful successor to Conall] from his possessing qualities which pointed him out as the fittest man to redeem the fortunes of the Dalriada. *Celt. Scot.*, i., 143.

⁴ Founder and first abbot of Bangor in the Ards of Ulster; born in 517, died in 602.

abbatem Comgellum a latere sedentem, sic profatur : Ille fonticulus, O Comgelle, de quo hæc effusa nobis allata est aqua, veniet dies quando nullis usibus humanis aptus erit. Qua causa, ait Comgellus, ejus fontana corrumpetur unda ? Sanctus Columba : Quia humano, inquit, cruore replebitur ; nam mei cognationales amici et tui secundum carnem cognati, hoc est, Nellis Nepotes,⁵ et Cruthini populi,⁶ in hac vicina munitione Cethirni⁷ belligerantes committent bellum. Unde in supra memorato fonte aliquis de mea cognatione trucidabitur homuncio, cujus cum cæteris interfecti sanguine ejusdem fonticuli locus replebitur. Quæ ejus veridica suo tempore post multos vaticinatio expleta est annos. In quo bello,⁸ ut multi norunt populi, Domnallus Aidi filius victor sublimatus est ; et in eodem, secundum sancti vaticinium viri, fonticulo, quidam de parentela ejus interfectus est homo.

Alius mihi Adamnano Christi miles, Finanus nomine, qui vitam multis anachoreticam annis juxta Roboreti monasterium Campi irreprehensibiliter ducebat, de eodem bello se præsentem commisso aliqua enarrans, protestatus est in supradicto fonte truncum cadaverinum vidisse, eademque die ad monasterium sancti Comgelli quod Scottice dicitur Cambas⁹ commisso reversum bello, quia inde prius venerat, ibidemque duos sancti Comgelli senes monachos reperisse : quibus cum de bello coram se acto, et de fonticulo humano cruore corrupto, aliquanta enarraret, illi consequenter : Verus propheta Columba, aiunt, qui hæc omnia, quæ hodie de bello et de fonticulo expleta enarras, ante multos annos futura, nobis audientibus, coram sancto Comgello, juxta Cethirni sedens munitionem, prænuntiaverat.

⁵ The descendants of Nial of the Nine Hostages.

⁶ The Irish Picts inhabiting the southern half of the county of Antrim and the greater part of the county of Down.

⁷ Near Coleraine, now called the Giant's Sconce. Dr. Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 94-96.

⁸ Fought in 629. Adamnan would then be in his fifth year.

⁹ Founded by St. Comgall.

CAPUT L.

De diversorum discretione xeniorum, Sancto revelata Viro, diali gratia.

EODEM in tempore Conallus, episcopus Culerathin,¹ collectis a populo Campi² Eilnie³ pene innumerabilibus xeniis,⁴ beato viro hospitium præparavit, post condictum supra memoratorum regum, turba prosequente multa, revertenti: proinde sancto advenienti viro xenia⁴ populi multa, in platea monasterii strata, benedicenda assignantur. Quæ cum benedicens aspiceret, xenium alicujus opulenti viri specialiter demonstrans: Virum, ait, cujus est hoc xenium, pro misericordiis pauperum, et ejus largitione, Dei⁴ comitatur misericordia. Itemque aliud discernit, inter alia multa xenium, inquires: De hoc ego xenio viri sapientis et avari nullo modo gustare possum, nisi prius veram de peccato avaritiæ pœnitudinem egerit. Quod verbum cito in turba divulgatum audiens, accurrit Columbus filius Aidi conscius, et coram Sancto flexis genibus pœnitentiam agit, et de cætero avaritiæ abrenuntiaturum se promittit, et largitatem cum morum emendatione consecuturum. Et jussus a Sancto surgere, ex illa hora est sanatus de vitio tenacitatis. Erat enim vir sapiens, sicuti Sancto in ejus revelatum erat xenio. Ille vero dives largus, Brendenus nomine, de cujus xenio paulo superius dictum est, audiens et ipse Sancti verba de se dicta, ingeniculans ad pedes Sancti, precatur ut pro eo ad Dominum Sanctus fundat precem: qui, ab eo primum pro quibusdam suis objurgatus peccatis, pœnitudinem gerens, de cætero se emendaturum promisit, et sic uterque de propriis emendatus et sanatus est vitiis.

Simili scientia Sanctus et alio tempore xenium alicujus tenacis viri, inter multa cognovit xenia, Diormiti nomine, ad Cellam Magnam Deathrib⁴ in ejus adventu collecta.

¹ elni, exeniis, exenia, diu, B.

² Now Coleraine, on the east side of the Bann.

³ On the Bann, now Magh Elne.

⁴ A. dethrib, B. Now Kilmore, in Roscommon, one of the churches founded by St. Columba before his removal to Scotland.

Hæc de beati viri prophetica gratia, quasi de plurimis pauca, in hujus libelli textu primi caraxasse sufficiat. Pauca dixi, nam hoc de venerabili viro non est dubitandum quod valde numerosiora fuerint, quæ in notitiam hominum, sacramenta interius celata, venire nullo modo poterant, quam ea quæ, quasi quædam parva aliquando stillicidia, veluti per quasdam rimulas alicujus pleni vasis ferventissimo novo destillabant vino. Nam sancti et apostolici viri, vanam evitantes gloriam, plerumque in quantum possunt interna quædam arcana, sibi intrinsecus a Deo manifesta, celare festinant. Sed Deus nonnulla ex eis, velint nolint ipsi, divulgat, et in medium quoquo profert modo, videlicet glorificare volens glorificantes se Sanctos, hoc est, ipsum Dominum cui gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

De Primo Libro imponitur terminus.

CAPITULA SECUNDI LIBRI INCIPIUNT.

DE VIRTUTUM MIRACULIS.

De vino quod de aqua factum est.

De amarissimis alicujus arboris pomis, in dulcedinem per Sancti benedictionem versis.

De terra, post medium æstatis tempus arata et seminata, mensis Augusti incipientis exordio maturam messem proferente.

De morbifera nube, et languentium sanitate.

De MAUGUINA sancta virgine, et fractura coxæ ejus sanata.

De multorum morbis fimbriæ vestimenti ejus tactu, in Dorso Cete, sanatis.

De petra salis a Sancto benedicta, quam ignis absumere non potuit.

De librariis foliis manu Sancti scriptis, quæ aqua nullo modo corrumpi potuerunt.*

De aqua, quæ, Sancto orante, ex dura producta est petra.

De aqua fontana, quam Sanctus ultra Britannicum benedixit Dorsum, et sanavit.

De Sancti periculo in mari, et de magna tempestate in tranquillitatem continuo, orante ipso, conversa.

De altero ejus periculo, et de Sancto CAINNECHO pro ipso et sociis ejus orante.

De baculo in portu Sancti CAINNECHI neglecto.

De BAITHENE, et COLUMBANO filio BEOGNOI, qui a Sancto secundum, eadem die, sed diversa via, ventum sibi dari postularunt.

De dæmonis repulsione qui in lactis vasculo latitabat.

De vasculo quod quidam maleficus, lacte de masculo bove expresso, diabolica replevit arte; sed, Sancto orante, ipsum quod videbatur lac, in sanguinem, hoc est, in naturam propriam, versum est.

* Codices B and Cott. Codex A. has no capitula for the second and third books. The capitula which follow correspond to the order of the chapters in B. but vary from those in A. For the convenience of reference the chapters are numbered in the following pages as in Colgan, the second June volume of the *Acta SS.*, and Dr. Reeves' *Adamnan*.

* Capp. 8. 9. of A.

- De LUGNEO MOCUMIN, quem Sanctus de profluvio sanguinis, qui crebro ex naribus ejus profluebat, oratione et digitorum tactu sanavit.
- De esoce magno in fluvio, juxta verbum Sancti, invento.³
- De duobus piscibus, illo prophetante, in flumine quod vocatur Boo repertis.
- De quodam plebeio qui NESANUS curvus dicebatur.
- De quodam divite tenacissimo, nomine UIGENO.⁴
- De COLUMBANO æque plebeio viro, cujus pecora admodum pauca vir sanctus benedixit; sed, post illius benedictionem usque ad centenarium creverunt numerum.
- De interitu JOHANNIS filii CONALLIS, eadem die qua Sanctum spernens dehonoravit.
- De alicujus FERADACHI morte, fraudulentis viri, a Sancto prænunciata.
- De alio persecutore, cujus nomen latine MANUS DEXTRA dicitur.
- De alio innocentium persecutore, qui in Lagenensium provincia, sicut ANNANIAS coram PETRO, eodem momento, a Sancto terribiliter objurgatus, cecidit mortuus.
- De apri mortificatione, qui a Sancto eminus cecidit, signo prostratus Dominicæ crucis.
- De alia aquatili bestia, quæ, eo orante, et manum e contra levante, retro repulsa est ne LUGNEO natanti vicino noceret.
- De insulæ Ionæ viperinis serpentibus, qui, ex qua die Sanctus eam benedixit, nulli hominum nec etiam pecoribus nocere potuere.
- De hasta ab eo signata, quæ deinceps nullo modo, quamlibet fortiter impulsæ, alicui potuit nocere animanti.
- De DIORMITI ægrotantis sanitate.
- De FENTENI filii AIDO, in extremis positi, sanitate.
- De puero quem mortuum, in nomine DOMINI JESU CHRISTI, in regione Pictorum, suscitavit.
- De conflictu ejus contra magum BROICHANUM, ob ancillæ retentionem; et de lapide quem Sanctus benedixit, qui in aqua quasi pomum supernatavit.
- De beati viri contra BROICHANUM magum refragatione, et venti contrarietate.
- De spontanea regiæ munitionis portæ subita apertione.
- De ecclesiæ Duorum Agri Rivorum simili reclusionem.

³ This and the following chapter form Cap. 19 of A.

⁴ Not in A.

- De alio paupere, plebeio mendico, cui Sanctus, sudem faciens, benedixit, ad ferarum jugulationem silvestrium.
- De utre lactario, quem unda maris abduxit, et reduxit ad terram.
- De LIBRANO HARUNDINETI sancti prophetatio viri.
- De quadam muliercula, magnas et valde difficiliores parturitionis tortiones passa, et sanata.
- De conjuge LUGNEI odiosi gubernatoris.
- De CORMACO Nepote LETHANI, et ejus navigationibus, sancti COLUMBÆ prophetatio.
- De venerabilis viri in curru evectione, absque currilium obicum communitione.
- De pluvia post aliquot siccitatis menses, beati ob honorem viri, super sitientem, Domino donante, terram effusa.
- Miraculum quod nunc, Deo propitio, describere incipimus, nostris temporibus factum, propriis inspeximus oculis.
- De ventorum flatibus contrariis, venerabilis viri virtute orationum, in secundos conversis ventos.
- De mortalitate.

Expliciunt Capitula Secundi Libri.

INCIPIT SECUNDUS LIBER DE VIRTU-
TUM MIRACULIS, QUÆ PLENISSIME
PLERUMQUE ETIAM PRÆSCIENTIA
PROPHETALIS COMITATUR.¹

CAPUT I.

De vino quod de aqua factum est.

ALIO in tempore, cum vir venerandus in Scotia, apud sanctum Findbarrum² episcopum, adhuc juvenis, sapientiam sacræ Scripturæ addiscens, commaneret, quadam solemni die vinum ad sacrificale mysterium casu aliquo minime inveniebatur; de cujus defectu cum ministro altaris inter se conquerentes audiret, ad fontem sumpto pergit urceo, ut ad sacræ Eucharistiæ ministeria aquam, quasi diaconus, fontanum hauriret. Ipse quippe illis in diebus erat in diaconatus gradu administrans. Vir itaque beatus aquaticum, quod de latice hausit, elementum, invocato nomine Domini Jesu Christi, fideliter benedixit, qui in Cana Galileæ aquam convertit in vinum: quo etiam in hoc operante miraculo, inferior, hoc est, aquatica natura, in gratiorem, videlicet vinalem, per manus prædicabilis viri conversa est

¹ The title is wanting in A.

² Also written Fenbarrum, Vinnianus, and Finnius. There were two famous abbots named Finnian who were the teachers of St. Columba. One was the founder of Magh-bile, now Moville, in Down, and of Druim-fionn, now Dromin, in Louth, where the dispute between him and St. Columba respecting the MS. of the Gospels is said to have occurred. He died Sept. 10, 579. The other was St. Finnian of Cluain-Eraird, now Clonard, in Meath, a famous teacher of the Scriptures, who died in 550.

speciem. Vir itaque sanctus, a fonte reversus, et ecclesiam intrans, talem juxta altare urceum intra se habentem deponit liquorem; et ad ministros: Habetis, ait, vinum, quod Dominus Jesus ad sua misit peragenda mysteria. Quo cognito, sanctus cum ministris episcopus eximias Deo referunt gratias. Sanctus vero juvenis hoc non sibimet, sed sancto Vinniano adscribebat episcopo. Hoc itaque protum virtutis documentum Christus Dominus per suum declaravit discipulum, quod in eadem re, initium ponens signorum in Cana Galileæ, operatus est per semetipsum.

Hujus, inquam, libelli, quasi quædam lucerna, illustret exordium, quod per nostrum Columbam diale manifestatum est miraculum; ut deinceps transeamus ad cætera, quæ per ipsum ostensa sunt, virtutum miracula.

CAPUT II.

*De alicujus arboris fructu amaro, per Sancti benedictionem
in dulcedinem verso.*

QUÆDAM arbor erat valde pomosa prope monasterium Roboris Campi, in australi ejus parte; de qua cum incolæ loci quoddam haberent pro nimia fructus amaritudine querimonium, quadam die Sanctus ad eam accessit autumnali tempore, vidensque lignum incassum abundos habere fructus, qui ex eis gustantes plus læderent quam delectarent; sancta elevata manu, benedicens ait: In nomine Omnipotentis Dei omnis tua amaritudo, O arbor amara, a te recedat; tuaque huc usque amarissima, nunc in dulcissima vertantur poma. Mirum dictu, dicto citius, eodemque momento, ejusdem arboris omnia poma, amissa amaritudine, in miram, secundum verbum Sancti, versa sunt dulcedinem.

CAPUT III.

De segete post medium æstatis tempus seminata, et in exordio Augusti mensis, Sancto orante, messa, in Iona conversante insula.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus suos misit monachos ut de alicujus plebeii agellulo virgarum fasciculos¹ ad hospitium afferrent construendum. Qui cum ad Sanctum, oneraria repleta navi de supradictis virgularum materiis, reversi venirent, dicerentque plebeium ejusdem causa dispendii valde contristatum; Sanctus consequenter præciens dicit: Ne ergo illum scandalizemus virum, ad ipsum a nobis bis terni deferantur hordei modii, eosdemque his in diebus arata ipse seminet in terra. Quibus ad plebeium, Findchanum² nomine, juxta Sancti jussionem, missis, et coram eo cum tali commendatione adsignatis, gratanter accipiens, ait: Quomodo post medium æsteum tempus seges seminata, contra hujus naturam terræ, proficiet? Marita e contra: Fac, ait, secundum Sancti mandatum, cui Dominus donabit quodcunque ab eo postulaverit. Sed et qui missi sunt simul hoc addiderunt dicendo, Sanctus Columba, qui nos ad te cum hoc misit munere, hoc mandatum per nos de tua commendavit segete, dicens: Homo ille in omnipotentia Dei confidat: seges ejus, quamvis de mense Junio duodecim³ præmissis diebus seminata, in principiis Augusti mensis metetur. Obsequitur plebeius arando² et seminando; et messem, quam supradicto in tempore contra spem seminavit, cum omnium admiratione vicinorum in exordio Augusti mensis maturam, juxta verbum Sancti, messuit, in loco terræ qui dicitur Delcros.³

¹ "These were for the hurdle-work of which the walls of houses, both secular and ecclesiastical, were constructed in the primitive architecture of the Celts." Reeves, p. 106. See the Life of St. Ninian, c. 3, note 3.

² findcanum, quindecim, orando, B.

³ Not identified.

CAPUT IV.

De morbifera nube, et plurimorum sanitate.

ALIO itidem in tempore, cum Sanctus in Iona commoraretur insula, sedens in monticulo, qui Latine Munitio Magna dicitur, videt ab aquilone nubem densam et pluvialem, de mari die serena obortam : qua ascendente visa, Sanctus ad quendam de suis juxta se monachum sedentem, nomine Silnanum, filium Nemani-don Mocusogin¹ : Hæc nubes, ait, valde nocua hominibus et pecoribus erit ; hacque die velocius transvolans super aliquantam Scotiæ partem, hoc est, ab illo rivulo qui dicitur Ailbine² usque ad Vadum Clied,³ pluviam vespere distillabit morbiferam, quæ gravia et purulenta humanis in corporibus, et in pecorum uberibus, nasci faciet ulcera ; quibus homines morbi et pecudes, illa venenosa gravitudine usque ad mortem molestati, laborabunt. Sed nos eorum miserati subvenire languoribus, Domino miserante, debemus. Tu ergo, Silnane, nunc mecum descendens de monte, navigationem præpara crastina die, vita comite et Deo volente, a me pane accepto, Dei invocato nomine benedicto, quo in aqua intincto, homines ea conspersi, et pecora, celerem recuperabunt salutem. Quid moramur ? Die crastina, his quæ necessaria erant, citius præparatis, Silnanus, accepto de manu Sancti pane benedicto, in pace enavigavit. Cui Sanctus, a se eadem emigranti hora, addit hoc consolatorium verbum, dicens : Confide, fili, ventos habebis secundos et prosperos die noctuque, usque dum ad illam pervenias regionem quæ dicitur Ard Ceannachte,⁴ ut languentibus ibidem celerius cum salubri subvenias pane. Quid plura ? Silnanus, verbo obsecutus Sancti, prospera et celeri navigatione, auxiliante Domino, ad supra memoratam

¹ nemaidonmocusogin, B. nemaido mocusogin, Cott.

² The river rises in the county of Meath. Its name is now corrupted into Delvin.

³ *Ath cliath*, Hurdle Ford, the ancient name of Dublin, and that by which it is still known among the Irish-speaking population. Vadum cleeth, B.

⁴ *cenacte*, B.

pervenians partem illius regionis, plebem de qua Sanctus prædixerat devastatam nubis prædictæ morbifera reperiit pluvia superfluente, citius præcurrentis: imprimisque bis terni viri in eadem mari vicina domo reperti in extremis morte positi appropinquante, ab eodem Silnano aqua benedictionis aspersi, in eodem præsentī die oportunius sanati sunt. Cujus subitæ sanationis rumor, per totam illam, morbo pestilentiore^s vastatam, regionem cito divulgatus, omnem morbidum ad sancti Columbæ legatum invitavit populum; qui, juxta Sancti mandatum, homines et pecora pane intincta benedicto aqua conspersit, et continuo plenam recuperantes salutem, homines, cum pecudibus salvati, Christum in sancto Columba, cum eximia gratiarum actione laudarunt. In hac itaque suprascripta narratione, ut æstimo, duo hæc manifeste pariter comitantur^s; hoc est, gratia prophetationis de nube, et virtutis miraculum in ægrotantium sanitate. Hæc per omnia esse verissima, supradictus Silnanus, Christi miles, sancti legatus Columbæ, coram Segineo abbate et cæteris testatus est senioribus.

CAPUT V.

De Maugina¹ sancta virgine Daimeni filia quæ inhabitaverat in loco qui Scottice dicitur Clochur^r filiorum Daimeni.

ALIO in tempore Sanctus, cum in Iona demoraretur insula, prima diei hora, quendam advocans fratrem, Lugaidum¹ nomine, cujus cognomentum Scotice Lathir dicitur; et taliter eum compellat, dicens: Præpara cito ad Scotiam celerem navigationem, nam mihi valde est necesse te usque ad Clocherum filiorum Daimeni destinare legatum. In hac enim præterita nocte, casu aliquo, Maugina,¹ sancta virgo, filia Daimeni, ab oratorio post missam domum reversa, titubavit, coxaque ejus in duas confracta est partes. Hæc sæpius meum, inclamitans, nomen com-

^s pestilencie, comittuntur, B.

¹ mauguina, clocher, lugaidium, B.

memorat, a Domino sperans se accepturam per me consolationem. Quid plura? Lugaido obsecundanti, et consequenter emigranti, Sanctus pineam tradit cum benedictione capsellam, dicens: Benedictio, quæ in hac capsellula continetur, quando ad Mauginam¹ pervenies visitandam, in aquæ vasculum intingatur, eademque benedictionis aqua super ejus infundatur coxam; et statim, invocato Dei nomine, coxale conjungetur os, et densabitur; et sancta virgo plenam recuperabit salutem. Et hoc Sanctus addit: En ego coram in hujus capsæ operculo numerum viginti trium annorum describo, quibus sacra virgo in hac præsentī, post eandem salutem, victura est vita. Quæ omnia sic plene expleta sunt, sicuti a Sancto prædicta: nam statim ut Lugaidus ad sanctam pervenit virginem, aqua benedicta, sicut Sanctus commendavit, perfusa coxa, sine ulla morula condensato osse, plene sanata est; et in adventu legati sancti Columbæ cum ingenti gratiarum actione gavisa, viginti tribus annis, secundum Sancti prophetiam, post sanitatem, in bonis actibus permanens, vixit.

CAPUT VI.

De his quæ in Dorso Cete¹ peractæ sunt diversorum sanitatibus morborum.

VIR vitæ prædicabilis, sicuti nobis ab expertis traditum est, diversorum languores infirmorum, invocato Christi nomine, illis in diebus sanavit, quibus, ad regum pergens conductum, in Dorso Cete, brevi commoratus est tempore. Nam aut sanctæ manus protensione, aut aqua ab eo benedicta, ægroti plures aspersi, aut etiam fimbriæ ejus tactu amphibali, aut alicujus rei, salis videlicet vel panis, benedictione accepta, et lymphis intincta, plenam credentes recuperarunt salutem.

¹ manguinam, cete, B.

CAPUT VII.

De petra salis a Sancto benedicta, quam ignis absumere non potuit.

ALIO itidem in tempore, Colgu¹ filius Cellachi postulatam a Sancto petram salis benedictam accipit, sorori et suæ nutrici profuturam, quæ ophthalmiæ laborabat valde gravi languore. Talem eulogiam eadem soror et nutricia de manu fratris accipiens, in pariete super lectum suspendit; casuque post aliquantos contigit dies, ut idem viculus, cum supradictæ domuncula feminæ, flamma vastante, totus concremaretur. Mirum dictu, illius parietis particula, ne beati viri in ea deperiret suspensa benedictio, post totam ambustam domum, stans illæsa permansit; nec ignis ausus est attingere binales, in quibus talis pendebat salis petra, sudēs.*

CAPUT VIII.

De librario folio Sancti manu descripto, quod aqua corrumpi non potuit.

ALIUD miraculum æstimo non tacendum, quod aliquando factum est per contrarium elementum. Multorum namque transcurtis annorum circulis post beati ad Dominum transitum viri, quidam juvenis de equo lapsus in flumine, quod Scotice Boend vocitatur, mersus et mortuus, viginti sub aqua diebus permansit; qui, sicuti sub ascella, cadens, libros in pelliceo reconditos sacculo¹ habebat, ita etiam post supra memoratum dierum numerum est repertus, sacculum cum libris inter brachium et latus continens; cujus etiam ad aridam reportato cadavere, et aperto sacculo, folium sancti Columbæ sanctis scriptum digitulis, inter aliorum folia librorum non tantum corrupta sed

¹ colgiu, B.

² The stakes or uprights forming the skeleton of the hurdle wall. See c. 3, note 1, *supra*.

³ Cf. Dr. Reeves' note *in loc.*, Stokes, *Early Christ. Art in Ireland*, pp. 50 *et seq.*; and Dr. Jos. Anderson's *Scot. in Early Christ. Times*, i., pp. 130 *et seq.*

et putrefacta, inventum est siccum et nullo modo corruptum, ac si in scriniolo esset reconditum.

CAPUT IX.

De alio miraculo in re simili gesto.

ALIO in tempore, hymnorum liber septimaniorum, sancti Columbæ manu descriptus, de cujusdam pueri de ponte elapsi humeris, cum pelliceo in quo inerat sacco, in quodam partis Laginorum fluvio, submersus cecidit. Qui videlicet libellus, a Natalitio Domini usque ad Paschaliū consummationem dierum in aquis permanens, postea in ripa fluminis a feminis quibusdam ibidem deambulantibus repertus ad quendam Iogenanum presbyterum, gente Pictum, cujus prius juris erat, in eodem, non solum madefacto, sed etiam putrefacto, portatur sacco. Quem scilicet saccum idem Iogenanus aperiens, suum incorruptum libellum invenit, et ita nitidum et siccum, ac si in scrinio tanto permansisset tempore, et nunquam in aquas cecidisset. Sed et alia de libris manu sancti Columbæ caraxatis similia ab expertis in indubitanter didicimus in diversis acta locis: qui scilicet libri, in aquis mersi, nullo modo corrumpi potuere. De supra memorato vero Iogenani libro a viris quibusdam veracibus et perfectis bonique testimonii, sine ulla ambiguitate, relationem accepimus; qui eundem libellum post tot supradictos submersionis dies, candidissimum et lucidissimum considerarunt. Hæc duo, quamlibet in rebus parvis peracta, et per contraria ostensa elementa, ignem scilicet et aquam, beati testantur honorem viri, et quanti et qualis meriti apud habeatur Deum.

CAPUT X.

De aqua quæ Sancto orante ex dura producta est petra.

ET quia paulo superius aquatici facta est mentio elementi,

silere non debemus etiam alia miracula, quæ per Sanctum Dominus ejusdem in re, licet diversis temporibus et locis, creaturæ peregit. Alio namque in tempore, cum Sanctus in sua conversaretur peregrinatione, infans ei per parentes ad baptizandum offertur iter agenti; et quia in vicinis aqua non inveniebatur locis, Sanctus, ad proximam declinans rupem, flexis genibus paulisper oravit, et post orationem surgens, ejusdem rupis frontem benedixit; de qua consequenter aqua abundanter ebulliens fluxit; in qua continuo infantem baptizavit. De quo etiam baptizato hæc, vaticinans, intulit verba, inquiens: Hic puerulus usque in extremam longævus vivet ætatem; in annis juvenilibus carnalibus desideriis satis serviturus, et deinceps Christianæ usque in exitum militiæ mancipandus, in bona senectute ad Dominum emigrabit. Quæ omnia eidem viro juxta Sancti contigerunt vaticinium. Hic erat Lugucen Calath¹ cujus parentes fuerant in Artdaib Muirchol,² ubi hodieque fonticulus, sancti nomine Columbæ pollens, cernitur.

CAPUT XI.

De alia maligna fontana aqua quam Vir Beatus in Pictorum regione benedixit.

ALIO in tempore, vir beatus, cum in Pictorum provincia per aliquot demoraretur dies, audiens in plebe gentili de alio fonte divulgari famam, quem quasi deum stolidi homines, diabolo eorum obcæcante sensus, venerabantur; nam de eodem fonticulo bibentes, aut in eo manus vel pedes de industria lavantes, dæmoniaci, Deo permittente, percussi arte, aut leprosi, aut lusci, aut etiam debiles, aut quibuscunque aliis infestati infirmitatibus revertabantur. Ob quæ omnia seducti gentiles divinum fonti deferebant honorem. Quibus compertis, Sanctus alia die

¹ B. Cott. Lugucen-calad, Reeves. Lugu-Cenealad, Colg. and Boll.

² ardaib muircol, B. Cott.

intrepidus accessit ad fontem. Quod videntes magi, quos sæpe ipse confusos et victos a se repellebat, valde gavisī sunt, scilicet putantes eum similia illius nocuæ tactu aquæ passurum. Ille vero imprimis elevata manu sancta, cum invocatione Christi nominis, manus lavat et pedes; tum deinde cum sociis de eadem, a se benedicta, bibit. Ex illaque die dæmones ab eodem recesserunt fonte, et non solum nulli nocere permissus est, sed etiam, post Sancti benedictionem, et in eo lavationem, multæ in populo infirmitates per eundem sanatæ sunt fontem.

C A P U T X I I.

De Beati Viri in mari periculo, et tempestatis orante subita sedatione.

ALIO in tempore, vir sanctus in mari periclitari cœpit; totum namque vas navis, valde concussum, magnis undarum cumulis fortiter feriebatur, grandi undique insistente ventorum tempestate. Nautæ tum forte Sancto, sentinam cum illis exhaurire conanti, aiunt: Quod nunc agis non magnopere nobis proficit periclitantibus; exorare potius debes pro pereuntibus. Quo audito, aquam cessat amaram exinanire, hininglas;¹ dulcem vero et intentam precem cœpit ad Dominum fundere. Mirum dictu, eodem horæ momento, quo Sanctus in prora stans, extensis ad cœlum palmis, Omnipotentem exoravit, tota aeris tempestas et maris sævitia, dicto citius sedata, cessavit, et statim serenissima tranquillitas subsecuta est. Qui vero navi inerant, obstupefacti, cum magna admiratione, referentes gratias, glorificaverunt Deum in sancto et prædicabili viro.

¹ To this word Pinkerton appended the note: "Sic MS. Reg. sed quod hininglas vult nescio"; but Dr. Skene, following Dr. Reeves, gives as its explanation "green sea wave." See the latter's note, *Adamn.* p. 120.

CAPUT XIII.

De alio ejus in mari simili periculo, in vortice Brechain.

ALIO quoque in tempore, sæva nimis insistente et periculosa tempestate, sociis, ut pro eis Sanctus Dominum exoraret, inclamitantibus ; hoc eis dedit responsum, dicens : Hac in die non est meum pro vobis in hoc periculo constitutis orare, sed est abbatis Cainnichi, sancti viri. Mira dicturus sum. Eadem hora sanctus Cainnichus,¹ in suo conversans monasterio, quod Latine Campulus Bovis dicitur, Scotice vero Ached-bou,² Spiritu revelante Sancto, supradictam sancti Columbæ interiore cordis aure vocem audierat ; et cum forte post nonam coepisset horam in refectorio eulogiam frangere, ocius deserit mensulam, unoque in pede inhærente calceo, et altero pro nimia festinatione relicto, festinanter pergit hac cum voce ad ecclesiam : Non est nobis nunc temporis prandere quando in mari periclitatur navis sancti Columbæ. Hoc enim momento, ipse hujus nomen Cainnichi ingeminans commemorat, ut pro eo et sociis periclitantibus Christum exoret. Post hæc illius verba oratorium ingressus, flexis genibus paulisper oravit ; ejusque orationem exaudiente Domino, illico tempestas cessavit, et mare valde tranquillum factum est. Tum deinde sanctus Columba, Cainnichi ad ecclesiam properationem in spiritu videns, quamlibet longe conversantis, mirabiliter hoc de puro pectore profert verbum, dicens : Nunc cognovi, O Cainniche, quod Deus tuam exaudierit precem ; nunc valde nobis proficit tuus ad ecclesiam velox cum uno calceamento cursus. In hoc itaque tali miraculo amborem, ut credimus, oratio cooperata est Sanctorum.

CAPUT XIV.

De baculo, in portu, Sancti Cainnichi neglecto.

ALIO in tempore, idem supra memoratus Cainnichus suum, a

¹ See III., 17 *infra*.

² A. achetbbou, B. acheth bou, Cott. Aghaboe, a parish in Queen's County and the diocese of Ossory.

portu Ionæ insulæ ad Scotiam navigare incipiens, baculum secum portare oblitus est; qui scilicet ejus baculus, post ipsius egressum in litore repertus, sancti in manum traditus est Columbæ; quemque domum reversus, in oratorium portat, et ibidem solus in oratione diutius demoratur. Cainnichus proinde ad Oidecham¹ appropinquans insulam, subito de sua oblivione compunctus, interius percussus est. Sed post modicum intervallum, de navi descendens, et in terra cum oratione genua flectens, baculum, quem in portu Ionæ insulæ oblitus post se reliquit, super cespitem terrulæ Aithche,² ante se invenit.³ De cujus etiam effecta divinitus evectione valde est miratus cum gratiarum in Deo actione.

CAPUT XV.

De Baitheneo et Columbano filio Beognoi, sanctis presbyteris, eadem sibi die ventum prosperum a Domino, per Beati Viri orationem donari postulantibus, sed diversa navigantibus via.

ALIO quoque in tempore, superius memorati sancti viri ad Sanctum venientes, ab eo simul unanimes postulant ut ipse a Domino postulans impetraret prosperum crastina die ventum sibi dari diversa emigraturis via. Quibus Sanctus respondens, hoc dedit responsum: Mane crastina die, Baitheneus, a portu Ionæ enavigans insulæ, flatum habebit secundum usquequo ad portum perveniat Campi Lunge.⁴ Quod ita, juxta Sancti verbum, Dominus donavit. Nam Baitheneus plenis eadem die velis magnum totumque pelagus usque ad Ethicam transmeavit terram. Hora vero ejusdem diei tertia, vir venerandus Columbanus⁵ advocat presbyterum, dicens: Nunc Baitheneus prospere optatum pervenit ad portum: ad navigandum te hodie

¹ A. cainechi, ouidecham, B. cainneche, Cott.

² A. ouidechae, B. ouidchae, Cott.

³ positum *add.* B.

⁴ In Tiree.

Otherwise Colmanus.

præpara ; mox Dominus ventum convertet aquilonem. Cui sic prolato beati viri verbo eadem hora auster obsecundans ventus se in aquiloneum convertit flatum ; et ita in eadem die uterque vir sanctus, alter ab altero in pace aversus, Baitheneus mane ad Ethicam terram, Columbanus post meridiem Hiberniam incipiens appetere, plenis enavigavit velis et flatibus secundis. Hoc illustris viri virtute orationum, Domino donante, effectum est miraculum ; quia, sicut scriptum est : Omniaabilia sunt credenti. Post illa in die sancti Columbani egressum, sanctus hoc de illo propheticum Columba protulit verbum : Vir sanctus Columbanus, cui emigranti benediximus, nusquam in hoc sæculo faciem videbit meam. Quod ita post expletum est, nam eodem anno sanctus Columba ad Dominum transiit.

CAPUT XVI.

De repulsione Dæmonis qui in lactario latitabat vasculo.

ALIO in tempore, quidam juvenis, Columbanus nomine, Nepos Briuni ad januam tugurioli subito perveniens restitit, in quo vir beatus scribebat. Hic idem, post vaccarum reversus mulsionem, in dorso portans vasculum novo plenum lacte, dicit ad Sanctum, ut juxta morem tale benediceret onus. Sanctus tum ex adverso eminus in aere signum¹ salutare manu elevata depinxit et invocato Dei nomine vas benedixit,² quod illico valde concussum est, gergennaque operculi, per sua bina foramina retrusa, longius projecta est, operculum terra tenus cecidit, lac ex majore mensura in solum defusum est. Juvenculus vas, cum parvo quod remanserat lactis, super fundum in terra deponit, genua suppliciter flectit. Ad quem Sanctus : Surge, ait, Columbane, hodie in tua operatione negligenter egisti, dæmonem enim in fundo vacui latitantem vasculi, impresso Dominicæ crucis signo, ante infusionem lactis, non effugasti ; cujus videlicet signi nunc virtutem non sustinens, tremefactus, toto pari-

¹ That is, the sign of the Cross.

²⁻³ B. Cott.

ter turbato vase, velociter cum lactis effusione aufugit. Huc ergo ad me proprius vasculum, ut illud benedicam, approxima. Quo facto, Sanctus semivacuum, quod benedixerat vas, eodem momento divinitus repletum repertum est; parvumque quod prius in fundo vasis remanserat, sub sanctæ manus benedictione, usque ad summam citius excreverat.

CAPUT XVII.

De vasculo quod quidam maleficus nomine Silnanus lacte de masculo bove expresso repleverat.

HOC in domo alicujus plebeii divitis, qui in monte Cainle commorabatur, Foirtgirnî nomine, factum traditur. Ubi cum Sanctus hospitaretur, inter rusticanos contendentes duos, quorum prius adventum præscivit, recta judicatione judicavit. Unusque ex eis, qui maleficus erat, a Sancto jussus, de bove masculo, qui prope erat, lac arte diabolica expressit. Quod Sanctus, non ut illa confirmaret maleficia, fieri jussit, quod absit; sed ut ea coram multitudine destrueret. Vir itaque beatus vas, ut videbatur tali plenum lacte, sibi ocius dari poposcit; et hac cum sententia benedixit, dicens: Modo probabitur non esse hoc verum, quod putatur, lac, sed dæmonum fraude, ad decipiendos homines, decoloratus sanguis. Et continuo lacteus ille color in naturam versus est propriam, hoc est, in sanguinem. Bos quoque, qui per unius horæ momentum, turpi macie tabidus et maceratus, erat morti proximus, benedicta a Sancto aqua superfusus, mira sub celeritate sanatus est.

CAPUT XVIII.

De Lugneo Mocumin.

QUADAM die quidam bonæ indolis juvenis, Lugneus nomine,

qui postea senex in monasterio Elenæ insulæ¹ præpositus erat, ad Sanctum veniens, queritur de profluvio sanguinis, qui crebro per multos menses de naribus ejus immoderate profluebat. Quo propius accito, Sanctus ambas ipsius nares binis manus dexteræ digitulis constringens benedixit. Ex qua hora benedictionis, nunquam sanguis de naso ejus usque ad extremum distillavit diem.

CAPUT XIX.

De esoce magno in fluvio Sale juxta verbum Sancti invento.¹

ALIO in tempore, cum prædicabilis viri sociales, strenui piscatores, quinos in rete pisces cœpissent in fluvio Sale piscoso, Sanctus ad eos, iterato, ait, Rete in flumem mittite, et statim invenietis grandem, quem mihi Dominus præparavit, piscem. Qui, verbo Sancti obtemperantes, miræ magnitudinis traxerunt in retiaculo esocem² a Deo sibi præparatum.

De duobus piscibus, illo prophetante, in flumine quod vocitatur Boo repertis.

ALIO quoque in tempore, cum Sanctus juxta Cei Stagnum³ aliquantis demoraretur diebus, comites ire ad piscandum cupientes retardavit, dicens: Hodie et cras nullus in flumine reperietur piscis: tertia mittam vos die, et invenietis binos grandes, in rete retentos, fluminales esoces. Quos ita, post duas dieculas, rete mittentes, duas rarissimæ magnitudinis, in fluvio qui dicitur

¹ Identified by Dr. Skene with Eilean Naomh, now Nave island, near Islay.

² This and the following title are those of Codices B. and Cott. In Codex A. the two paragraphs form one chapter with the title "De piscibus beato viro specialiter a Deo præparatis."

³ The meaning wavers between "a pike" and "a salmon." See Dr. Reeves note on the word.

⁴ Lough Key in County Roscommon.

Boo⁴ reperientes, ad terram traxerunt. In his duabus memoratis piscationibus, miraculi apparet virtus et prophetica simul præscientia comitata, pro quibus Sanctus et socii Deo grates eximias reddiderunt.

CAPUT XX.

De Nesano curvo qui in ea regione conversabatur quæ Stagno Aporum⁵ est contermina.

HIC Nesanus, cum esset valde inops, sanctum alio tempore gaudenter hospitio recepit virum. Cui cum hospitaliter secundum vires, unius noctis spatio ministrasset, Sanctus ab eo inquirît, cujus bocalas numeri haberet. Ille ait: Quinque. Sanctus consequenter: Ad me, ait, adduc, ut eas benedicam. Quibus adductis, et elevata manu sancta benedictis: Ab hac die tuæ pauculæ quinque vacculæ crescent, ait Sanctus, usque ad centum et quinque vaccarum numerum. Et quia idem Nesanus homo plebeius erat, cum uxore et filiis, hoc etiam ei vir beatus benedictionis augmentum intulit, dicens: Erit semen tuum in filiis et nepotibus benedictum. Quæ omnia plene, juxta verbum Sancti, sine ulla expleta sunt imminutione.

*De quodam vero divite tenacissimo, nomine Uigenio, qui sanctum Columba despexerat, nec eum hospitio recepit, hanc e contrario protulit prophetalem sententiam, inquiens: Illius autem avari divitiæ, qui Christum in peregrinis hospitibus sprexit, ab hac die paulatim imminuentur, et ad nihilum redigentur; et ipse mendicabit; et filius ejus cum semivacua de domo in domum perula discurret; et, ab aliquo ejus æmulo

⁴ The Boyle river.

⁵ Lochaber, but properly that part of Loch Eil which lies between Fort William and Corran Ferry.

securi in fossula excussorii percussus morietur. Quæ omnia de utroque, juxta sancti prophetiam viri, plene sunt expleta.*

CAPUT XXI.

De Columbano æque plebeio viro, cujus pecora admodum pauca Vir Sanctus benedixit; sed post illius benedictionem usque ad centenarium creverunt numerum.

ALIO quoque in tempore, vir beatus quadam nocte, cum apud supra memoratum Columbanum tunc temporis inopem, bene hospitaretur, mane primo Sanctus, sicuti superius de Nesano commemoratum est, de quantitate et qualitate substantiæ plebeium hospitem interrogat. Qui interrogatus: Quinque ait, tantummodo, habeo vacculas; quæ, si eas benedixeris, in majus crescent. Quas illico, a Sancto jussus, adduxit, similique modo, ut supra de Nesani quinis dictum est vacculis, et hujus Columbarum boculas quinales æqualiter benedicens, inquit: Centenas et quinque, Deo donante, habebis vaccas, et erit in filiis et nepotibus tuis florida benedictio. Quæ omnia, juxta beati viri prophetationem, in agris et pecoribus ejus et prole, plenissime adimpleta sunt; mirumque in modum numerus a Sancto præfinitus supra memoratis ambobus viris, in centenario vaccarum et quinario expletus numero, nullo modo superaddi potuit. Nam illa, quæ supra præfinitum excedebant numerum, diversis prærepta casibus, nusquam comparuerant, excepto eo quod aut in usus proprios familiæ, aut etiam in opus eleemosynæ, expendi poterat. In hac itaque narratione, ut in cæteris, virtutis miraculum et prophetia simul aperte ostenditur. Nam in magna vaccarum ampliacione benedictionis pariter et orationis virtus apparet, et in præfinitione numeri prophetalis præscientia.

*2 Wanting in Codex A. In Codices B. and Cott. only, where it is joined on to the preceding without rubric, title, paragraph or any other mark of distinction. Pinkerton made it a separate chapter, and supplied the title from the capitulationes at the beginning of the Book.

CAPUT XXII.

*De interitu Iohannis, filii Conallis, eadem die qua Sanctum
spernens dehonoravit.¹*

VIR venerandus supra memoratum Columbanum, quem de paupere virtus benedictionis ejus ditem fecit, valde diligebat; quia ei multa pietatis officia præbebat. Erat autem illo in tempore quidam malefactor homo, bonorum persecutor, nomine Iohannes,² filius Conallis filii Domnalli, de regio Gabrani³ ortus genere. Hic supradictum Columbanum, sancti amicum Columbæ, persequabatur; domumque ejus, omnibus in ea inventis, devastaverat, ereptis, non semel, sed bis inimiciter agens. Unde forte non immerito eidem maligno accidit viro, ut tertia vice post ejusdem domus tertiam deprædationem, beatum virum, quem quasi longius positum dispexerat, proprius appropinquantem, ad navem revertens præda onustus cum sociis, obvium haberet. Quem cum Sanctus de suis corripere malis, prædamque deponere rogans suaderet, ille, immitis et insuadibilis permanens, Sanctum dispexit, navimque cum præda ascendens, beatum virum subsannabat et deridebat. Quem Sanctus ad mare usque persecutus est, vitreasque intrans aquas usque ad genua æquoreas, levatis ad cælum ambis manibus, Christum intente precatur, qui suos glorificantes se glorificat electos. Est vero ille portus, in quo post egressum persecutoris stans paulisper Dominum exorabat, in loco qui Scotice vocatur, Ait-Chambas Art-muirchol.⁴

¹ B. and Cott. The title in A. is "De malefactorum interitu qui Sanctum dispexerant."

² He is mentioned also in cap. 24 *infra*, but it is difficult to make out his descent as given in these places. He is represented as the great-grandson of Gabhran, whose son Aidan was St. Columba's contemporary and died in 606, but his grand-nephew is represented as at man's estate many years before that.

³ Gabhran, son of Domhangart, succeeded his brother Comgall as King of Scotch Dalriada in 558. He died in 560, and was succeeded by his nephew Conall.

⁴ A. ad cambasi ard muircoll, B. aidcambas ardmuircoll, Cott. There is no place called Ait-cambas in Ardnamurchan. Camus-an-gaal has been suggested as the place meant.

Tum proinde Sanctus, expleta oratione, ad aridam reversus, in eminentiore cum comitibus sedet loco; ad quos illa in hora formidabilia valde profert verba, dicens: Hic miserabilis homuncio, qui Christum in suis dispexit servis, ad portum, a quo nuper coram vobis emigravit, nunquam revertetur; sed nec ad alias, quas appetit, terras subita præventus morte, cum suis perveniet malis cooperatoribus. Hodie, quam mox videbitis, de nube a borea orta immitis immissa procella eum cum sociis submerget; nec de eis etiam unus remanebit fabulator. Post aliquantum paucularum interventum morarum, die serenissima, et ecce de mari oborta, sicut Sanctus dixerat, nubes, cum magno fragore venti emissa, raptorem cum præda inter Maleam et Colosum insulas inveniens, subito turbato submersit medio mari: nec ex eis, juxta verbum Sancti, qui navi inerant etiam unus evasit; mirumque in modum, toto circumquaque manente tranquillo æquore, talis una rapaces ad inferna submersos prostravit procella, misere quidem, sed digne.

CAPUT XXIII.

De alicujus Feradachi morte, fraudulentis viri a Sancto prænunciata.¹

ALIO quoque in tempore, vir sanctus quendam de nobili Pictorum genere exulem, Tarainum² nomine, in manum alicujus Feradachi ditis viri, qui in Ilea insula³ habitabat, diligenter assignans commendavit, ut in ejus comitatu, quasi unus de amicis, per aliquot menses conversaretur. Quem cum tali commendatione de sancti manu viri suscepisset commendatum, post paucos dies, dolose agens, crudeli eum jussione trucidavit. Quod immane scelus cum Sancto a comitantibus esset nuntiatus, sic respondens profatus est: Non mihi sed Deo

¹ B. Cott. The title in A. is "De quodam Feradacho subita morte substracto."

² The name Tarain occurs later in the Catalogues of Pictish Kings. See *Chron. of Picts and Scots*, pp 6-7, 27-29, etc.; also Dr. Reeves' *Adamu.*, p. 134.

³ Islay.

ille infelix homunculus mentitus est, cujus nomen de libro vitæ delebitur. Hæc verba æsteo nunc mediante proloquimur tempore, sed autumnali, antequam de suilla degustet carne, aboreo saginata fructu, subita præventus morte, ad infernaliam rapietur loca. Hæc sancti prophetia viri, cum misello nuntiaret homuncioni, despiciens irrisit Sanctum : et post dies aliquot autumnalium mensium, eo jubente, scrofa nucum impinguata nucleis jugulatur, necdum aliis ejusdem viri jugulatis suis ; de qua celeriter exinterata partem sibi in veru celerius assari præcipit, ut de ea impatiens homo prægustans, beati viri prophetationem destrueret. Qua videlicet assata, dari sibi poposcit aliquam prægustandam morsus particulam ; ad quam percipiendam extensam manum priusquam ad os converteret, expirans, mortuus retro in dorsum cecidit. Et qui viderant, et qui audierant, valde tremefacti, admirantes, Christum in sancto propheta honorificantes glorificarunt.

CAPUT XXIV.

De alio¹ persecutore, cujus nomen Latine Manus Dextera dicitur.

ALIO in tempore, vir beatus, cum alios ecclesiarum persecutores, in Himba² commoratus insula, excommunicare cœpisset, filios videlicet Conallis filii Domnaill, quorum unus erat Iohannes, de quo supra retulimus ; quidam ex eorundem malefactoribus sociis, diaboli instinctu, cum hasta irruit, ut Sanctum interficeret. Quod præcavens unus ex fratribus, Finducanus³ nomine, mori paratus pro sancto viro, cuculla ejus indutus intercessit. Sed mirum in modum beati viri tale vestimentum, quasi quædam munitissima et impenetrabilis lorica, quamlibet fortis viri forti impulsione acutioris hastæ, transfigi non potuit, sed illæsum permansit ; et qui eo indutus erat, intactus et incolumis tali protectus est munimento. Ille vero sceleratus, qui Manus

¹ B. Cott. quodam nefario homine ecclesiarum, *add.* A.

² hinba, A.

³ findluganus, A.

Dextera, retro repedavit, æstimans quod sanctum hasta transfixisset virum. Post ex ea die completum annum, cum Sanctus in Iona commoraretur insula: Usque in hanc diem, ait, integratus est annus, ex qua die Lamdess,⁴ in quantum potuit, Finducanum mea jugulavit vice; sed et ipse, ut æstimo, hac in hora jugulatur. Quod juxta Sancti revelationem eodem momento in illa insula factum est, quæ Latine Longa⁵ vocitari potest: ubi ipse solus Lamdess, in aliqua virorum utrinque acta belligeratione, Cronani, filii Baithani jaculo transfixus, in nomine, ut fertur, sancti Columbæ emissio, interierat; et post ejus interitum, belligerare viri cesarunt.

CAPUT XXV.

De alio innocentium persecutore, qui in Lagenensium provincia,³ sicut Ananias coram Petro, eodem momento a Sancto terribiliter objurgatus, cecidit mortuus.²

CUM vir beatus, adhuc juvenis diaconus, in parte Lagenensium, divinam addiscens sapientiam, conversaretur, quadam accidit die ut homo quidam innocuorum immitis persecutor crudelis, quandam in campi planitie filiolum fugientem persequeretur. Quæ cum forte Gemmanum⁴ senem, supra memorati juvenis diaconi magistrum, in campo legentem vidisset, ad eum recto cursu, quanta valuit velocitate, confugit. Qui, tali perturbatus subitatione, Columbam eminens legentem advocat, ut ambo, in quantum valuissent, filiam a persequente defenderent. Qui statim superveniens, nulla eis ab eo data reverentia, filiam sub vestimentis eorum lancea jugulavit; et relinquens jacentem

⁴ Called above Manus Dextera.

⁵ The island of Luig.

¹⁻² B. and Cott.; not in A.

³ Leinster.

⁴ "This Gemman was probably a Christian bard, of the same class as Dallan Forgaill, St. Columba's panegyrist; and being an inhabitant of the plain of Meath, was brought into communication with St. Finnian, whose church was the principal one in the territory." Dr. Reeves, *Adamn.*, p. 137.

mortuam super pedes eorum, aversus abire cœpit. Senex tum, valde tristificatus, conversus ad Columbam: Quanto, ait, sancte puer Columba, hoc scelus cum nostra dehonoratione temporis spatio inultum fieri Judex justus patietur Deus? Sanctus consequenter hanc in ipsum sceleratorem protulit sententiam, dicens: Eadem hora, qua interfectæ ab eo filiæ anima ascendit ad cœlos, anima ipsius interfectoris descendat ad inferos. Et dicto citius, cum verbo, sicut Ananias coram Petro, sic et ille innocentium jugulator, coram oculis sancti juvenis, in eadem mortuus cecidit terrula. Cujus rumor subitæ et formidabilis vindictæ continuo per multas Scotiæ provincias, cum mira sancti diaconi fama, divulgatus est.

Huc usque de adversariorum terrificis ultionibus dixisse sufficiat. Nunc de bestiis aliqua narrabimus pauca.

CAPUT XXVI.

*De apri mortificatione, qui a Sancto eminus cecidit, signo
prostratus dominicæ crucis.¹*

ALIO in tempore, vir beatus, cum in Scia insula^a aliquantis demoraretur diebus, paulo longius solus, orationis intuitu, separatus a fratribus, silvam ingressus densam, miræ magnitudinis aprum, ³quem forte venatici canes persequabantur,⁴ obviam⁵ habuit. Quo viso eminus, Sanctus aspiciens eum restitit. Tum deinde, invocato Dei nomine, sancta elevata manu, cum intenta dicit ad eum oratione: Ulterius huc procedere noles: in loco ad quem nunc devenisti morere.⁶ Quo Sancti in silvis personante verbo, non solum ultra accedere non valuit, sed ante faciem ipsius terribilis ferus, verbi ejus virtute mortificatus, cito corruit.

¹ The title in A is "De apro per ejus orationem interempto."

^a Now Sky.

³⁻⁴ A. om B.

⁵ tunc add. B.

⁶ A. quantotius morere, B. Cott.

CAPUT XXVII.

De alia aquatili bestia, quæ, eo orante et manum e contra levante, retro repulsa est ne Lugneo natanti vicino noceret.¹

ALIO quoque in tempore, cum vir beatus in Pictorum provincia per aliquot moraretur dies, necesse habuit fluvium transire Nessam: ad cujus cum accessisset ripam, alios ex accolis aspicit misellum humantes homunculum; quem, ut ipsi sepultores ferebant, quædam paulo ante nantem aquatilis præripiens bestia morsu² momordit sævissimo: cujus miserum cadaver, sero licet, quidam in alno³ subvenientes porrectis præripuere uncinis. Vir e contra beatus, hæc audiens, præcipit ut aliquis ex comitibus enatans caupallum,⁴ in altera stantem ripa, ad se navigando reducat. Quo sancti audito prædicabilis viri præcepto, Lugneus Mocumin, nihil moratus, obsecundans, depositis excepta vestimentis tunica, immittit se in aquas. Sed bellua, quæ prius non tam satiata, quam in prædam accensa, in profundo fluminis latitabat, sentiens eo natante turbatam supra aquam, subito emergens, natatilis ad hominem in medio natantem alveo, cum ingenti fremitu, aperto cucurrit ore. Vir tum beatus videns, omnibus, qui inerant, tam barbaris quam etiam fratribus, nimio terrore percussis, cum salutare, sancta elevata manu, in vacuo aere crucis pinxisset signum, invocato Dei nomine, feroci imperavit bestię, dicens: Noles ultra progredi, nec hominem tangas; retro citius revertere. Tum vero bestia, hac Sancti audita voce, retrorsum, ac si funibus retraheretur, velociori recursu fugit⁵ tremefacta; ⁶quæ prius Lugneo nanti eo usque appropinquavit, ut hominem inter et bestiam non amplius esset

¹ Codex A. has for title "De cujusdam aquatilis bestię virtute orationis beati viri repulsione."

² raptu B. Cott.

³ A boat.

⁴ "*Caupulus*, or *caupolus*, occurs in Aulus Gellius [x. 25] in the sense of a boat, and is explained in Isidore's Glossary by *lembus* or *cymba*. It is akin to the word *coble*, which is commonly used in the sense of a little flat-bottomed boat." Dr. Reeves, *Adamn.*, p. 141. See also Du Cange.

⁵⁻⁶ A. retractione factaque, B. retractione factaque, Cott.

quam unius contuli longitudo. Fratres tum, recessisse videntes bestiam, Lugneumque commilitonem ad eos intactum et incolumem in naviculam reversum, cum ingenti admiratione glorificaverunt Deum in beato viro. Sed et gentiles barbari, qui ad præsens inerant, ejusdem miraculi magnitudine, quod et ipsi viderant, compulsi, Deum magnificaverunt Christianorum.

CAPUT XXVIII.

*De insulæ Ionæ viperinis serpentibus, qui, ex qua die Sanctus eam benedixit, nulli hominum nec etiam pecoribus nocere potuerunt.*¹

QUADAM die ejusdem æstivi temporis quo ad Dominum transiit, ad visitandos fratres Sanctus plaustro vectus pergit, qui in campulo occidentali Ionæ insulæ opus materiale exercebant. Post quorum consolatoria a Sancto prolata alloquia, in eminentiore stans loco, sic vaticinatur, dicens: Ex hac, filioli, die, scio quod in hujus campuli locis nunquam poteritis in futurum videre faciem meam. Quos, hoc audito verbo, valde tristificatos videns, consolari eos in quantum fieri possit conatus, ambas manus elevat sanctas, et totam hanc nostram benedicens insulam, ait: Ex hoc hujus horulæ momento omnium viperarum venena nullo modo, in hujus insulæ terrulis, aut hominibus aut pecoribus nocere poterunt, quamdiu Christi mandata ejusdem commorationis incolæ observaverint.

CAPUT XXIX.

De pugione a Sancto cum dominicæ crucis signaculo benedicto.

ALIO in tempore, quidam frater, nomine Molua, Nepos Briuni, ad Sanctum eadem scribentem hora veniens, dicit ad

¹ In Codex A. the title is "De benedicta a Sancto hujus insulæ terrula ne deinceps in ea viperarum alicui nocerent venena."

eum : Hoc quod in manu habeo ferrum, quæso benedicas. Qui paululum extensa manu sancta cum calamo signans benedixit, ad librum de quo scribebat facie conversa. Quo videlicet supradicto fratre cum ferro benedicto recedente, Sanctus percunctatur dicens : Quod fratri ferrum benedixi ? Diormitius, pius ejus ministrator : Pugionem, ait, ad jugulandos tauros vel boves benedixisti. Qui e contra respondens inquit : Ferrum quod benedixi, confido in Domino meo, quia nec homini nec pecori nocebit. Quod Sancti firmissimum eadem hora comprobatum est verbum. Nam idem frater, vallum egressus monasterii, bovem jugulare volens, tribus firmis vicibus, et forti impulsione conatus, nec tamen potuit etiam ejus transfigere pellem. Quod monachi scientes experti, ejusdem pugionis ferrum, ignis resolutum calore, per omnia monasterii ferramenta liquefactum dividerunt illinitum ; nec postea ullam potuere carnem vulnerare, illius Sancti manente benedictionis fortitudine.

CAPUT XXX.

De Diormitii ægrotantis sanitate.

ALIO in tempore, Diormitius, Sancti pius minister, usque ad mortem ægrotavit : ad quem, in extremis constitutum, Sanctus visitans accessit ; Christique invocato nomine, infirmi ad lectulum stans, et pro eo exorans, dixit : Exorabilis mihi fias precor, Domine mi, et animam mei ministratoris pii de hujus carnis habitaculo, me non auferas superstite. Et hoc dicto aliquantisper conticuit. Tum proinde hanc de sacro ore profert vocem dicens : Hic meus non solum hac vice nunc non morietur puer, sed etiam post meum annis vivet multis obitum. Cujus hæc exoratio est exaudita : nam Diormitius, statim post Sancti exaudibilem precem, plenam recuperavit salutem ; per multos quoque annos post Sancti ad Dominum emigrationem supervixit.

CAPUT XXXI.

De Finteni filii Aido in extremis positi sanitate.

ALIO quoque in tempore, Sanctus cum trans Britannicum iter ageret Dorsum,[†] quidam juvenis, unus comitum, subita molestus ægrimonia, ad extrema usque perductus est, nomine Fintenus: pro quo commilitones Sanctum mæsti rogitant ut oraret. Qui statim, eis compatiens, sanctas cum intenta oratione expandit ad cœlum manus, ægrotumque benedicens, ait: Hic, pro quo interpellatis, juvenculus vita vivet longa; et post omnium nostrum qui hic adsumus exitum superstes remanebit, in bona moriturus senecta. Quod beati viri vaticinium plene per omnia expletum est: nam idem juvenis, illius postea monasterii fundator, quod dicitur Kailli Anfind,^{*} in bona senectute præsentem terminavit vitam.

CAPUT XXXII.

De puero quem mortuum Vir Venerandus in Christi Domini nomine suscitavit.

ILLO in tempore, quo sanctus Columba in Pictorum provincia per aliquot demorabatur dies, quidam cum tota plebeius familia verbum vitæ per interpretatorem sancto prædicante viro, audiens credidit, credensque baptizatus est, maritus cum marita liberisque et familiaribus. Et post aliquantulum dieularum intervallum paucarum, unus filiorum patrisfamilias, gravi correptus ægritudine, usque ad confinia mortis et vitæ perductus est. Quem cum magi morientem vidissent, parenti-

[†] Drumalban.

^{*} Codex A has Kailli-au-inde. The place has not been identified. Colgan places it in Ireland, and makes the name correspond to Kill-aibhne in the diocese of Clonfert. Dr. Skene, *Adamnan*, 328, ed. 1874, is inclined to identify it with Killundine, in Morven, on the Sound of Mull.

bus cum magna exprobratione cœperunt illudere, suosque, quasi fortiores, magnificare deos, Christianorum vero, tanquam infirmiori, Deo derogare. Quæ omnia cum beato intimarentur viro, zelo suscitatus Dei, ad domum cum suis comitibus amici pergit plebeii, ubi parentes nuper defunctæ prolis mæstas celebrabant exequias. Quos Sanctus valde tristificatos videns, confirmans dictis compellat consolatoriis, ut nullo modo de divina omnipotentia dubitarent. Consequenterque percunctatur, dicens : In quo hospitio corpus defuncti jacet pueri ? Pater tum orbatus Sanctum sub mæstum deducit culmen, qui statim, omnem foris exclusam relinquens catervam, solus mæstificatum intrat habitaculum, ubi illico, flexis genibus, faciem ubertim lacrymis irrigans, Christum precatur Dominum ; et post ingenuationem surgens, oculos convertit ad mortuum, dicens : In nomine Domini Jesu Christi resuscitare, et sta super pedes tuos. Cum hac Sancti honorabili voce anima ad corpus rediit, defunctusque apertis revixit oculis, cujus manum tenens apostolicus homo erexit, et in statione stabiliens, secum domum egressus deducit, et parentibus redivivum assignavit. Clamor tum populi attollitur, plangor in lætationem convertitur, Deus Christianorum glorificatur. Hoc noster Columba cum Helia et Heliseo prophetis habeat sibi commune virtutis miraculum ; et cum Petro et Paulo et Iohanne apostolis partem honoris similem in defunctorum resurrectione : et inter utrosque, hoc est, prophetarum et apostolorum cœtus, honorificam cœlestis patriæ sedem homo propheticus et apostolicus æternalem cum Christo, qui regnat cum Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

CAPUT XXXIII.

De Broichano mago ob ancillæ retentionem infirmato, et pro ejus liberatione sanato.

ËODEM in tempore, vir venerandus quandam a Broichano mago Scotticam postulavit servam humanitatis miseratione

liberandam : quam cum ille duro valde et stolido retentaret animo,¹ Sanctus ad eum locutus, hoc profatur modo : Scito, Broichane, scito, quia si mihi hanc peregrinam liberare captivam nolueris, priusquam de hac revertar provincia, citius morieris. Et hoc coram Brudeo rege dicens, domum egressus regiam, ad Nesam venit fluvium, de quo videlicet fluvio lapidem attollens candidum, ad comites : Signate, ait, hunc candidum lapidem, per quem Dominus in hoc gentili populo multas ægrotorum perficiet sanitates. Et hoc effatus verbum consequenter intulit, inquiens : Nunc Broichanus fortiter concussus est, nam angelus de cœlo missus, graviter illum percutiens, vitream in manu ejus, de qua bibeat, confregit in multa biberam fragmenta ; ipsum vero anhelantem ægra reliquit suspiria, morti vicinum. Hoc in loco paululum expectemus binos regis nuncios, ad nos celeriter missos, ut Broichano morienti citius subveniamus : nunc Broichanus, formidabiliter correptus, ancillulam liberare est paratus. Adhuc Sancto hæc loquente verba, ecce, sicut prædixit, duo a rege missi equites adveniunt, omniaque quæ in regis munitione de Broichano, juxta Sancti vaticinium, sunt acta, enarrantes ; et de poculi confractione, et de magi correptione, et de servulæ parata absolutione ; hocque intulerunt, dicentes : Rex et ejus familiares nos ad te miserunt, ut nutricio ejus Broichano subvenias, mox morituro. Quibus auditis legatorum verbis, Sanctus binos de comitum numero ad regem, cum lapide a se benedicto, mittit, dicens : Si in primis promiserit se Broichanus famulam liberaturum, tum deinde hic lapillus intingatur in aqua, et sic de eo bibat, et continuo salutem recuperabit : si vero renuerit refragans absolvi servam, statim morietur.

Duo missi, verbo Sancti obsequentes, ad aulam deveniunt regiam, verba viri venerabilis regi enarrantes. Quibus intimatis² regi et nutricio ejus Broichano, valde expaverunt : eademque hora liberata famula sancti legatis viri assignatur, lapis in aqua intingitur, mirumque in modum, contra naturam, lithus in aquis supernatat, quasi pomum, vel nux, nec potuit sancti benedictio viri submergi. De quo Broichanus natante bibens lapide, statim a vicina rediit morte, integramque carnis recuperavit salutem.

¹ A. latro valde et fortiter retentaret, B.

² A. auditis, B.

Talis vero lapis, postea, in thesauris regis reconditus, multas in populo ægritudinum sanitates, similiter in aqua natans intinctus, Domino miserante, effecit. Mirum dictu, ab his ægrotis, quorum vitæ terminus supervenerat, requisitus idem lapis nullo modo reperiri poterat. Sic et in die obitus Brudei³ regis quærebatur, nec tamen in eodem loco, ubi fuerat prius reconditus, inveniebatur.

CAPUT XXXIV.

De Beati Viri contra Broichanum magum refractione, et venti contrarietate.

POST supra memorata peracta, quadam die Broichanus ad sanctum proloquens virum, infit: Dicito mihi, Columba, quo tempore proponis enavigare? Sanctus: Tertia, ait, die, Deo volente et vita comite, navigationem proponimus incipere. Broichanus e contra: Non poteris, ait; nam ego ventum tibi contrarium facere, caliginemque umbrosam superinducere possum. Sanctus: Omnipotentia Dei, ait, omnium dominatur, in cuius nomine nostri omnes motus, ipso gubernante, diriguntur. Quid plura? Sanctus die eadem, sicut corde proposuit, ad lacum Nesæ fluminis longum, multa prosequente caterva, venit. Magi vero gaudere tum cœpere, magnam videntes superinductam caliginem, et contrarium cum tempestate flatum. Nec mirum hæc interdum arte dæmonum posse fieri, Deo permitte, ut etiam venti et æquora in asperius concitentur. Sic enim aliquando dæmoniorum legiones sancto Germano episcopo,¹ de Sinu Gallico, causa humanæ salutis, ad Britanniam naviganti, medio in æquore occurrerant, et opposcentes pericula procellas concitabant, cœlum diemque tenebrarum caligine obducebant. Quæ tamen omnia, sancto orante Germano, dicto citius, sedata detersa cessarunt caligine. Noster itaque Columba,

³ It occurred A.D. 583.

¹ He was Bishop of Antissiodorum, now Auxerre, and visited Britain in 429 and 448. On the first occasion he was accompanied by Lupus, bishop of Tricassii, and on the second by Severus, bishop of Treviri. His object on each occasion was to combat the spread of Pelagianism. The present allusion is to the earlier visit.

videns contra se elementa concitari furentia, Christum invocat Dominum, cimbulamque ascendens, nautis hæsitantibus, ipse constantior factus velum contra ventum jubet subrigi. Quo facto, omni inspectante turba, navigium flatus contra adversos mira vectum occurrit velocitate. Et post haud grande intervallum venti contrarii ad itineris ministeria cum omnium admiratione revertuntur. Et sic per totam illam diem flabris lenibus secundis flantibus, beati cimba viri optatum pervecta ad portum appulsa est. Perpendat itaque lector quantus et qualis idem vir venerandus, in quo Deus omnipotens, talibus præscriptis miraculorum virtutibus, coram plebe gentilica illustre suum manifestavit nomen.

CAPUT XXXV.

De spontanea regie munitionis portæ subita apertione.

ALIO in tempore, hoc est, in prima Sancti fatigatione itineris ad regem Brudeum,¹ casu contigit ut idem rex, fastu elatus regio, suæ munitionis,² superbe agens, in primo beati adventu viri, non aperiret portas. Quod ut cognovit homo Dei, cum comitibus³ ad valvas portarum accedens, in primis Dominicæ crucis imprimens signum, tum deinde manum pulsans contra ostia ponit; quæ continuo sponte, retro retrusis fortiter seris, cum omni celeritate aperta sunt. Quibus statim apertis, Sanctus consequenter cum sociis intrat. Quo cognito, rex cum senatu valde pertimescens, domum egressus, obviam cum veneratione beato pergit viro, pacificisque verbis blande admodum compellat: et ex ea in posterum die sanctum et venerabilem virum idem regnator, suæ omnibus vitæ reliquis diebus, valde magna honoravit, ut decuit, honorificentia.

¹ Bede, *H. E.* III. 4, makes the conversion of Brude and his subjects precede the donation of Hy. The date of the incident recorded in the text is probably 563.

² See I. 37, and II. 33, from which it would appear that Brude's residence was not far from the banks of the river Ness.

³ Said in the Life of St. Comgall to have been SS. Comgall and Cainnech.

CAPUT XXXVI.

De ecclesiæ Agri Rivulorum simili reclusionē.

ALIO itidem in tempore, vir beatus aliquantis in Scotia diebus conversatus, ad visitandos fratres qui in monasterio Duum Ruris commanebant Rivulorum,¹ ab eis invitatus, perrexit. Sed casu aliquo accidit ut eo ad ecclesiam accedente, claves non reperirentur oratorii. Cum vero Sanctus de non repertis adhuc clavibus et obseratis foribus inter se conquirentes alios audisset, ipse ad ostium appropinquans: Potens est Dominus, ait, domum suam servis etiam sine clavibus aperire suis. Cum hac tum voce subito retro retrusis forti motu pessulis, sponte aperta janua, Sanctus cum omnium admiratione ecclesiam ante omnes ingreditur, et hospitaliter a fratribus susceptus, honorabiliter ab omnibus veneratur.

CAPUT XXXVII.

De quodam plebeio mendico, cui Sanctus sudem faciens ad jugulandas benedixit feras.

ALIO in tempore quidam ad Sanctum plebeius venit pauperimus, qui in ea habitabat regione quæ Stagni litoribus Aporici² est contermina. Huic ergo miserabili viro, qui unde maritam et parvulos cibaret, non habebat, vir beatus petenti, miseratus, ut potuit, quandam largitus eleemosynam, ait: Miselle homuncio, tolle de silva contulum vicina, et ad me ocius defer. Obsecundans miser, juxta Sancti jussionem, detulit materiam; quam Sanctus excipiens in veru exacuit; quodque propria exacuminans manu, benedicens, et illi assignans inopi dixit: Hoc veru diligenter custodi, quod, ut credo, nec homini, nec

¹ Tirdaglas, now Terryglas, in the county of Tipperary.

² Loch Abor, now Lochaber.

alicui pecori, nocere poterit, exceptis feris bestiis quoque et piscibus ; et quamdiu talem habueris sudem, nunquam in domo tua cervinæ carnis cibatio abundans deerit. Quod audiens miser mendicus, valde gavisus, domum revertitur, veruque in remotis infixit terrulæ locis, quæ silvestres frequentabant feræ ; et vicina transacta nocte, mane primo pergit revisitare volens veru, in quo miræ magnitudinis cervum cecidisse reperit transfixum. Quid plura ? Nulla, ut nobis traditum est, transire poterat dies, qua non aut cervum, aut cervam, aut aliquam reperiret in veru infixio cecidisse bestiam. Repleta quoque tota de ferinis carnibus domo, vicinis superflua vendebat, quæ hospitium suæ domus capere non poterat.

Sed tamen diaboli invidia per sociam, ut Adam, et hunc etiam miserum invenit ; quæ, non quasi prudens, sed fatua, taliter ad maritum locuta est : Tolle de terra veru, nam si in eo homines, aut etiam pecora, perierint, tu ipse et ego cum nostris liberis aut occidemur aut captivi ducemur. Ad hæc maritus inquit : Non ita fiet : nam sanctus vir mihi, benedicens sudem, dixit, quod nunquam hominibus aut etiam pecoribus nocebit. Post hæc verba mendicus, uxori consentiens, pergit, et tollens de terra veru, intra domum, quasi amens, illud secus parietem posuit ; in quo mox domesticus ejus incidens canis disperiit. Quo pereunte, rursum marita : Unus, ait, filiorum tuorum incidet in sudem et peribit. Quo audito ejus verbo, maritus veru de pariete removens ad silvam reportat, et in densioribus infixit dumis, ut putabat, ubi a nullo posset animante offendi. Sed postera reversus die capream in eo cecidisse et periisse reperit. Inde quoque illud removens, in fluvio, qui Latine dici potest Nigra Dea,¹ juxta ripam sub aquis abscondens infixit : quod alia revisitans die, esocem in eo miræ magnitudinis transfixum et retentum invenit ; quem de flumine elevans vix solus ad domum portare poterat, veruque secum de aqua simul reportans, extrinsecus in superiore tecti affixit loco ; in quo et corvus devolatus, impetu lapsus disperiit jugulatus. Quo facto, miser, fatuæ conjugis consilio depravatus, veru tollens de tecto, assumpta securi, in plures concidens particulas,

¹ Not identified.

in ignem projecit. Et post, quasi suæ paupertatis amisso non mediocri solatio, remendicare, ut meritis, cœpit. Quod videlicet penuriæ rerum solamen sæpe superius in veru memorato dependebat, quod pro pedicis, et retibus, et omni venationis et piscationis genere servatum posset sufficere, beati viri donatum benedictione, quodque amissum miser plebeius, eo ditatus pro tempore, ipse cum tota familiola, sero licet, omnibus de cætero deplanxit reliquis diebus vitæ.

CAPUT XXXVIII.

De lactario utre quem salacia abstulit unda et venilia iterum repræsentavit in priore loco.

ALIO in tempore, beati legatus viri, Lugaidus nomine, cognomento Laitirus, ad Scotiam jussus navigare proponens, inter navalia navis Sancti instrumenta utrem lactarium quæsitum inveniens, sub mari, congestis super eum non parvis lapidibus, madefaciendum posuit; veniensque ad Sanctum quod de utre fecit, intimavit. Qui subridens inquit: Uter, quem ut dicis, sub undis posuisti, hac vice, ut æstimo, non te ad Hiberniam comitabitur. Cur, ait, non mecum in navi comitem eum habere potero? Sanctus: Altera, inquit, die quod res probabit scies. Itaque Lugaidus mane postera die ad retrahendum de mari utrem pergit; quem tamen salacia noctu subtraxit unda. Quo non reperto, ad Sanctum reversus tristis, flexis in terram genibus, suam confessus est negligentiam. Cui Sanctus, illum consolatus, ait: Noli frater pro fragilibus contristari rebus; uter quem salacia sustulit unda, ad suum locum, post tuum egressum, reportabit venilia. Eadem die post Lugaidi de Iona insula emigrationem, hora transacta nona, Sanctus circumstantibus sic profatus, ait: Nunc ex vobis unus ad æquor pergat; utrem, de quo Lugaidus querebatur, et quem salacia sustulerat unda, nunc venilia retrahens, in loco unde subtractus est, repræsentavit. Quo Sancti audito verbo, quidam alacer juvenis ad oram cucurrit maris, repertumque

utrem, sicut prædixerat Sanctus, cursu reversus concito, reportans, valde gavisus, coram Sancto, cum omnium qui ibidem inerant, admiratione, assignavit. In his, ut sæpe dictum est, binis narrationibus superius descriptis, quamlibet in parvis rebus, sude videlicet et utre, prophetia simul et virtutis miraculum comitari cernuntur. Nunc ad alia tendamus.

CAPUT XXXIX.

De Librano Harundineti prophetatio Sancti Viri.

ALIO in tempore, cum vir sanctus in Iona conversaretur insula, homo quidam plebeius nuper sumpto clericatus habitu, de Scotia transnavigans, ad insulanum beati monasterium viri devenit. Quem cum alia die Sanctus in hospitio residem hospitantem invenisset solum, primum de patria, de gente, et causa itineris, a Sancto interrogatus; de Conactarum regione¹ oriundum se professus est; et ad delenda in peregrinatione peccamina longo fatigatum itinere. Cui cum Sanctus, ut de suæ pœnitudinis exploraret qualitate, dura et laboriosa ante oculos monasterialia proposuisset imperia; ipse consequenter ad Sanctum respondens, inquit: Paratus sum ad omnia quæcunque mihi jubere volueris, quamlibet durissima, quamlibet indigna. Quid plura? Eadem hora omnia sua confessus peccata, leges pœnitentiæ, flexis in terram genibus, se implendum promisit. Cui Sanctus: Surge, ait, et reside. Tum deinde residentem sic compellat: Septennem debebis in Ethica pœnitentiam explere terra. Ego et tu usquequo numerum expleas septennialium annorum, Deo donante, victuri sumus. Quibus Sancti confortatus dictis, grates Deo agens, ad Sanctum: Quid me, ait, agere oportet de quodam meo falso juramento? Nam ego quendam in patria commanens trucidavi homuncionem; post cujus trucidationem, quasi reus in vinculis retentus sum. Sed mihi quidam cognationalis homo

¹ Connaught, one of the five provinces of Ireland.

eiusdem parentelæ, valde opibus opulentus, subveniens, me opportune et de vinculis vinculatum absolvit, et de morte reum eripuit. Cui post absolutionem cum firma juratione promiseram me eidem omnibus meæ diebus vitæ servitutum. Sed, post aliquot dies in servitute peractos, servire homini dedignatus, et Deo potius obsecundare malens, desertor illius carnalis domini, juramentum infringens, discessi, et ad te, Domino meum prosperante iter, perveni. Ad hæc Sanctus, virum pro talibus valde angi videns, sicuti prius prophetans, profatur, inquiens: Post septenorum, sicut tibi dictum est, expletionem annorum, diebus ad me huc, quadragesimalibus venies, ut in Paschali solemnitate ad altarium accedas, et Eucharistiam sumas.

Quid verbis immoramur? Sancti viri imperiis per omnia pœnitens obsequitur peregrinus. Iisdemque diebus ad monasterium Campi missus Lunge,² ibidem plene expletis in pœnitentia septem annis, ad Sanctum, diebus quadragesimæ, juxta ejus priorem propheticam jussionem, revertitur. Et post peractam Paschæ solemnitate, in qua jussus ad altare accessit, ad Sanctum de supra interrogans memorato venit juramento. Cui Sanctus interroganti talia vaticinans responsa profatur: Tuus de quo mihi aliquando dixeras, carnalis superest dominus; paterque et mater et fratres adhuc vivunt. Nunc ergo præparare te debes ad navigationem. Et inter hæc verba macheram³ belluinis ornatam dolatis protulit dentibus, dicens: Hoc accipe tecum portandum munus, quod domino pro tua redemptione offeres; sed tamen nullo modo accipiet. Habet enim bene moratam conjugem, cujus salubri obtemperans consilio, te eadem die gratis, sine pretio, libertate donabit, cingulum ex more captivi de tuis resolvens lumbis. Sed hac anxietate solutus, aliam e latere surgentem non effugies sollicitudinem. Nam tui fratres undique coarctabunt te, ut tanto tempore patri debitam, sed neglectam, redintegres pietatem. Tu tamen, sine ulla hæsitatione voluntati eorum obsecundans, patrem senem pie excipias confovendum. Quod onus, quam-

² The chief monastery in the island of Tiree.

³ From μάχαιρα.

libet tibi videatur grave, contristari non debes, quia mox depones. Nam ex qua die incipies patri ministrare, alia in fine ejusdem septimanæ mortuum sepelies. Sed post patris sepultionem, iterum fratres te acriter compellent, ut matri etiam debita pietatis impendas obsequia. De qua profecto compulsionem tuus junior te absolvet frater; qui tua vice paratus omne pietatis opus, quod debes, pro te matri serviens reddet.

Post hæc verba supra memoratus frater, Libranus nomine, accepto munere, Sancti ditatus benedictione perrexit; et ad patriam perveniens, omnia, secundum Sancti vaticinium, invenit vere probata. Nam statim, ut pretium suæ offerens libertatis ostendit domino, accipere volenti refragans uxor: Ut quid nobis, ait, hoc accipere quod sanctus pretium misit Columba? Hoc non sumus digni. Liberetur ei pius hic gratis ministrator. Magis nobis sancti viri benedictio proficiet, quam hoc quod offertur pretium. Audiens itaque maritus hoc maritæ salubre consilium, continuo gratis liberavit servum. Qui post, juxta prophetiam Sancti, compulsus a fratribus, patrem, cui ministrare cœpit, septima die mortuum sepelivit. Quo sepulto, ut et matri debite deserviret compellitur. Sed subveniente juniore fratre, sicuti Sanctus prædixerat, vicem ejus adimplente, absolvitur. Sed juniorque⁴ ad fratres sic dicebat: Nullo modo nos oportet fratrem in patria retentare, qui per septem annos apud sanctum Columbam in Britannia salutem exercuit animæ.

Post quæ ab omnibus, quibus molestabatur, absolutus, matri et fratribus valedicens, liber reversus ad locum, qui Scotice vocitatur Daire Calgaich,⁵ pervenit. Ibidemque navim sub velo a portu emigrantem inveniens, clamitans de litore rogitat, ut ipsum nautæ cum eis susciperent navigaturum in Britanniam. Sed ipsi non suscipientes refutaverunt eum, quia non erant de monachis sancti Columbæ. Tum deinde ad eundem venerabilem loquens virum, quamlibet longe absentem, tamen spiritu præsentem, ut mox res probavit: Placetne tibi,

⁴ qui ad fratres, A.

⁵ See I., 2, 20. Its Latinized form is Roboretum Calgachi, I., 2, 20, *supra*. The Church of Derry was founded by St. Columba, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, in 545.

ait, sancte Columba, ut hi nautæ, qui me tuum non suscipiunt socium, plenis velis et secundis enavigent ventis? In hac voce ventus, qui ante illis erat secundus, dicto citius versus est contrarius. Inter hæc videntes virum eundem e regione secus flumen⁶ cursitantem, subito inter se inito consilio, ad ipsum de navi inclamitantes dicunt nautici: Fortassis idcirco citius in contrarium nobis conversus est ventus, quia te suscipere renuerimus. Quod si etiam nunc te ad nos in navim invitaverimus, contrarios nunc nobis flatus in secundos convertere poteris? His auditis, viator ad eos dixit: Sanctus Columba, ad quem vado, et cui huc usque per septem annos obsecundavi, si me susceperitis, prosperum vobis ventum a Domino suo, virtute orationum, impetrare poterit. Quibus auditis, navim terræ approximant, ipsumque ad eos in eam invitant. Qui statim, rate ascensa: In nomine Omnipotentis, ait, cui sanctus Columba inculpabiliter servit, tensis rudentibus levate velum. Quo facto, continuo contraria venti flamina in secunda vertuntur, prosperaque usque ad Britanniam plenis successit navigatio velis. Libranusque, postquam ad loca perventum est Britannica, illam deserens navim, et nautis benedicens, ad sanctum devenit Columbam in Iona commorantem insula.

Qui videlicet vir beatus, gaudenter suspiciens eum, omnia quæ de eo in itinere acta sunt, nullo alio intimante, plene narravit, et de domino, et uxoris ejus salubri consilio, quomodo ejusdem suasu liberatus est; de fratribus quoque; de morte patris, et ejus, finita septimana, sepultione; de matre, et de fratris opportuna junioris subventionem; de his quæ in regressu acta sunt; de vento contrario, et secundo; de verbis nautarum, qui primo eum suscipere recusarunt, de promissione prosperi flatus; et de prospera, eo suscepto in navi, venti conversione. Quid plura? Omnia, quæ Sanctus adimplenda prophetavit, expleta enarravit.

Post hæc verba viator pretium suæ quod a Sancto accepit redemptionis assignavit. Cui Sanctus eadem hora vocabulum indidit, inquiens: Tu Libranus vocaberis eo quod sis liber. Qui videlicet Libranus iisdem in diebus votum monachicum

⁶ The Foyle on which Derry is built.

devotus vovit. Et cum a sancto viro ad monasterium,⁷ in quo prius septem annis pœnitens Domino servivit, remitteretur, hæc ab eo prophetica de se prolata accepit verba valedicente: Vita vives longa, et in bona senectute vitam terminabis præsentem. Attamen non in Britannia, sed in Scotia, resurges. Quod verbum audiens, flexis genibus, amare flevit. Quem Sanctus valde mæstum videns, consolari cœpit dicens: Surge, et noles tristificari. In uno meorum morieris monasteriorum,⁸ et cum electis erit pars tua meis in regno monachis; cum quibus in resurrectionem vitæ de somno mortis evigilabis. ⁹Qui, a Sancto accepta non mediocri consolatione valde lætatus est, et Sancti benedictione ditatus, in pace perrexit. Quæ Sancti de eodem viro verax postea est adimpleta prophetatio. Nam cum per multos annales cyclos in monasterio Campi Lunge post sancti Columbæ de mundo transitum, obedienter Domino deserviret, monachis¹⁰ pro quadam monasteriali utilitate ad Scotiam missus, valde senex, statim ut de navi descendit, pergens per Campum Breg,¹ ad monasterium devenit Roborei Campi²; ibidemque, hospes receptus hospitio, quadam molestus infirmitate, septima ægrotationis die in pace ad Dominum perrexit, et inter sancti Columbæ electos humatus est monachos, secundum ejus vaticinium, in vitam resurrecturus eternam.

Has de Librano Harundineti sancti veridicas Columbæ vaticinationes scripsisse sufficiat. Qui videlicet Libranus ideo Harundineti est vocatus, quia in harundineto multis annis harundines colligendo laboraverat.

⁷ Magh Lunge in Tiree.

⁸ Besides Durrow, the one alluded to in the text, St. Columba founded in Ireland the monasteries of Derry, Kells, Kilmore-dithreabh, Swords, Rechra, and Drumcliff. The congregations were all included under one general denomination, the muintir Choluim-chille, or familia Columbæ-cille, and the Abbot of Hy was their common head.

⁹ A. qua, B.

¹⁰ monachus, A.

¹ See I., 38.

² Roboreti Campus (see I., 29, 49, and III., 15), now Durrow, the only Irish foundation ascribed by Bede directly to St. Columba, *H. E.*, III., 4.

CAPUT XL.

*De quadam muliercula magnas et difficiliores parturitionis
tortiones passa.*

QUADAM die, Sanctus in Iona commanens insula, a lectione surgit, et subridens dicit: Nunc ad oratorium mihi properandum, ut pro quadam misellula Dominum deprecer femina, quæ nunc in Hibernia nomen hujus inclamitans commemorat Columbæ, in magnis parturitionis difficillimæ torta punctionibus, et ideo per me a Domino de angustia absolutionem dari sibi sperat; quia et mihi est cognationalis, de meæ matris parentela genitorem habens progenitum. Hæc dicens Sanctus, illius mulierculæ motus miseratione, ad ecclesiam currit, flexisque genibus pro ea Christum de homine natum exorat. Et post precationem oratorium egressus, ad fratres profatur occurrentes, inquiens: Nunc propitius Dominus Iesus, de muliere progenitus opportune miseræ subveniens, eam de angustiis liberavit, et prospere prolem peperit; nec hac morietur vice. Eadem hora, sicuti Sanctus prophetizavit, misella femina, nomen ejus invocans, absoluta salutem recuperavit. Ita ab aliquibus postea de Scotia, et de eadem regione,¹ ubi mulier inhabitabat, transmeantibus, intimatum est.

CAPUT XLI.

*De quodam Lugneo governatore, cognomento Tutida, quem sua
conjugis odio habuerat deformem, qui in Rechrea com-
morabatur insula.*

ALIO in tempore, cum vir sanctus in Rechrea¹ hospitaretur insula, quidam plebeius ad eum veniens, de sua querebatur uxore, quæ, ut ipse dicebat, ²odio habens, eum ad ³maritalem nullo modo admittebat concubitum accedere. Quibus auditis,

¹ North Leinster.

² Either Rathlin, off the north coast of Antrim, or Rachra, now Lambay, off the coast of Dublin.

³⁻³ A. Om. B.

Sanctus, maritam advocans, in quantum potuit, eam hac de causa corripere cœpit, inquiens: Quare, mulier tuam a te carnem abdicare conaris, Domino dicente, Erunt duo in carne una? Itaque caro tui conjugis tua caro est. Quæ respondens: Omnia, inquit, quæcunque mihi præceperis, sum parata, quamlibet sint valde laboriosa, adimplere, excepto uno, ut me nullo compellas modo in uno lecto dormire cum Lugneo. Omnem domus curam exercere non recuso, aut, si jubeas, etiam maria transire, et in aliquo puellarum monasterio permanere. Sanctus tum ait: Non potest recte fieri quod dicis, nam adhuc viro vivente alligata es a lege viri. Quos enim Deus licite conjunxit nefas est separari. Et his dictis, consequenter intulit: Hac in die tres, hoc est, ego et maritus, cum conjugē, jejunantes Dominum precemur. Illa dehinc: Scio, ait, quia tibi impossibile non erit ut ea quæ vel difficilia, vel etiam impossibilia videntur, a Deo impetrata donentur. Quid plura? Marita eadem die cum Sancto jejunare consentit, et maritus similiter. Noctēque subsequente Sanctus insomnis pro eis deprecatus est. Posteraque die Sanctus maritam præsente sic compellat marito: O femina, si, ut hesternā dicebas, parata hodie es ad feminarum emigrare monasteriolum? Illa: Nunc, inquit, cognovi, quia tua a Deo de me est audita oratio; nam quem heri oderam, hodie amo; cor enim meum hac nocte præterita, quo modo ignoro, ³in ³me immutatum est de odio in amorem. Quid moramur? ab eadem die usque ad diem obitus, anima ejusdem maritæ indissociabiliter in amore conglutinata est mariti, ut illa maritalis concubitus debita, quæ prius reddere renuebat, nullo modo deinceps recusaret.

CAPUT XLII.

De navigatione Cormaci, nepotis Lethani,¹ prophetatio Beati Viri.

ALIO in tempore Cormacus, Christi miles, de quo in primo

³⁻³ *Om. B.*

¹ "A clan descended, and deriving their name, from Eochaidh Liathain, or Liathanach, a Munster chief, who was sixth in descent from Oilill Olum, King of Munster, A.D. 234." Reeves, *Adamn.*, p. 166.

hujus opusculi libello breviter aliqua commemoravimus pauca, etiam secunda vice conatus est eremum in oceano quærere. Qui postquam a terris per infinitum oceanum plenis enavigavit velis, iisdem diebus sanctus Columba cum ultra Dorsum moraretur Britanniae, Brudeo regi, praesente Orcadum regulo, commendavit dicens: Aliqui ex nostris nuper emigraverunt, desertum in pelago intransmeabili invenire optantes; qui si forte post longos circuitus Orcadas devenerint insulas, huic regulo, cujus obsides in manu tua sunt, diligenter commenda, ne aliquid adversi intra terminos ejus contra eos fiat. Hoc vero Sanctus ita dicebat, quia in spiritu praecognovit, quod post aliquot menses idem Cormacus esset ad Orcadas venturus. Quod ita postea evenit; et propter supradictam sancti viri commendationem, de morte in Orcadibus liberatus est vicina.

Post aliquantum paucorum intervallum mensium, cum Sanctus in Iona commoraretur insula, quadam die coram eo ejusdem Cormaci mentio ab aliquibus subito oboritur sermocinantibus, et taliter dicentibus: Quomodo Cormaci navigatio, prosperane an non, provenit, adhuc nescitur. Quo audito verbo, Sanctus hæc profatur dicens: Cormacum de quo nunc loquimini hodie mox pervenientem videbitis. Et post quasi unius horæ interventum, mirum dictu, et ecce inopinato Cormacus superveniens, oratorium cum omnium admiratione et gratiarum ingreditur actione. Et quia de hujus Cormaci secunda navigatione beati prophetationem breviter intulerimus viri, nunc et tertia æque propheticae ejus scientiae aliqua describenda sunt verba.

Cum idem Cormacus tertia in oceano mari fatigaretur vice, prope usque ad mortem periclitari coepit. Nam cum ejus navis a terris per quatuordecim æstivi temporis dies, totidemque noctes, plenis velis, austro flante vento, ad septentrionalis plagam coeli directo excurreret cursu, ejusmodi navigatio ultra humani excursus modum, et irremeabilis videbatur. Unde contigit, ut post decimam ejusdem quarti et decimi horam diei, quidam pene insustentabiles undique et valde formidabiles consurgerent terrores; quædam quippe usque in id temporis invisæ, mare obtegentes occurrerant tetrae et infestæ nimis bestiolæ, quæ horribili impetu carinam et latera, puppimque et proram ita

forti feriebant percussura, ut pelliceum tectum navis penetrales putarentur penetrare posse. Quæ, ut hi qui inerant ibidem postea narrarunt, prope magnitudinem ranarum, aculeis permolestæ, non tamen volatiles sed natatiles, erant; sed et remorum infestabant palmulas. Quibus visis, inter cætera monstra, quæ non hujus est temporis narrare, Cormacus cum nautis comitibus, valde turbati et pertimescentes, Deum, qui est in angustiis pius et oportunus auxiliator, illacrymati precantur.

Eadem hora et sanctus noster Columba, quamlibet longe absens corpore, spiritu tamen præsens in navi cum Cormaco erat. Unde, eodem momento, personante signo, fratres ad oratorium convocans, et ecclesiam intrans, astantibus, sic, more sibi consueto, prophetizans profatur, dicens: Fratres, tota intentione pro Cormaco orate, qui nunc humanæ discursionis limitem, immoderate navigando, excessit, nunc quasdam monstruosas, ante non visa, et pene indicibiles, patitur horrificas perturbationes. Itaque nostris commembribus in periculo intolerabili constitutis mente compati debemus fratribus, et Dominum exorare cum eis. Ecce enim nunc Cormacus cum suis nautis, faciem lacrymis ubertim irrigans, Christum intentius precatur; et nos ipsum orando adjuvemus, ut austrum flantem ventum usque hodie per quatuordecim dies, nostri miseratus, in aquilonem convertat; qui videlicet aquiloneus ventus navem Cormaci de periculis retrahat. Et hæc dicens, flebili cum voce, flexis genibus ante altarium, omnipotentiam Dei ventorum et cunctarum gubernatricem precatur rerum. Et post orationem cito surgit, et abstergens lacrymas, gaudenter grates Deo agit, dicens: Nunc, fratres, nostris congratulemur, pro quibus oramus, caris; quia Dominus austrum nunc in aquilonem convertet flatum, nostros de periculis commembres retrahentem, quos huc ad nos iterum reducet. Et continuo cum ejus voce auster cessavit ventus, et inspiravit aquiloneus per multos dies: et navis Cormaci ad terras redacta est. Et pervenit Cormacus ad sanctum Columbam, et se, donante Deo, facie ad faciem, cum ingenti omnium admiratione viderant, et non mediocri lætatione. Perpendat itaque lector quantus et qualis idem vir beatus, qui talem propheticam habens scientiam, ventis et oceano, Christi invocato nomine, potuit imperare.

CAPUT XLIII.

*De Venerabilis Viri in curru evectione absque currilium obicum
communitione.*

ALIO in tempore, cum in Scotia per aliquot dies Sanctus conversaretur, aliquibus ecclesiasticis utilitatibus coactus, currum ab eo prius benedictum ascendit junctum; sed non insertis primo, qua negligentia accedente nescitur, necessariis obicibus per axium extrema foramina. Erat autem eadem diecula Columbanus filius Echudi,¹ vir sanctus, illius monasterii fundator quod Scotica vocitatur lingua Snam-luthir, qui operam aurigæ in eodem curriculo cum sancto exercebat Columba. Fuit itaque talis ejusdem agitatio diei per longa viarum spatia sine ulla rotarum humerulorumque separatione sive labefactione, nulla, ut supra dictum est, obicum retentione vel communitione retinente. Sed sola diali sic venerando præstante gratia viro, ut currus, cui insederat salubriter, absque ulla impeditione, recta incederet orbita.

Huc usque de virtutum miraculis quæ per prædicabilem virum, in præsentem conversantem vita, divina operata est omnipotentia, scripsisse sufficiat. Nunc etiam quædam de his quæ post ejus de carne transitum ei Domino donata comprobantur, pauca sunt commemoranda.

CAPUT XLIV.

*De pluvia post aliquot siccitatis menses, Beati ob honorem Viri
super sitientem, Domino donante, terram effusa. Miraculum*

¹ See I., 5, *supra*.

¹ He was descended from Laeghaire, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. In the Life of St. Fechin he is represented as blind for a long time, and as being cured of his blindness by St. Fechin. Colg. Acta SS., p. 136, c. xxx. Snam-luthair, which he is said to have founded, was in Carbre Gabhra, which is now Snalore, in the parish of Kilmore, County Cavan.

quod nunc, Domino propitio describere incipimus, nostris temporibus factum propriis inspeximus oculis.

ANTE annos namque ferme quatuordecim, in his torpentibus terris, valde grandis, verno tempore, facta est siccitas, jugis et dura; in tantum, ut illa Domini in Levitico libro transgressoribus coaptata populis comminatio videretur imminere, qua dicit: Dabo cœlum vobis desuper sicut ferrum; et terram æneam. Consumetur incassum labor vester; nec proferet terra germen, nec arbores poma præbebunt; et cætera. Nos itaque hæc legentes, et imminentem plagam pertimescentes, hoc inito consilio fieri consiliati sumus, ut aliqui ex nostris senioribus nuper aratum et seminatum campum cum sancti Columbæ candida circumirent tunica, et libris stilo ipsius descriptis; levarentque in aere, et excuterent eandem per ter tunicam, qua etiam hora exitus ejus de carne indutus erat; et ejus aperirent libros, et legerent in Colliculo Angelorum, ubi aliquando cœlestis patriæ cives ad beati viri conductum visi sunt descendere. Quæ postquam omnia juxta initum sunt peracta consilium, mirum dictu, eadem die cœlum, in præteritis mensibus, Martio videlicet et Aprili, nudatum nubibus, mira sub celeritate ipsis de ponto ascendentibus illico opertum est, et pluvia facta est magna, die noctuque descendens; et sitiens prius terra, satis satiata, opportune germina produxit sua, et valde lætas eodem anno segetes. Unius itaque beati commemoratio nominis viri in tunica et libris commemorata multis regionibus eadem vice et populis salubri subvenit opportunitate.

CAPUT XLV.

De ventorum flatibus contrariis Venerabilis Viri virtute orationum in secundos conversis ventos.

PRÆTERITORUM, nobis, quæ non vidimus, talium miraculorum præsentia, quæ ipsi perspeximus, fidem indubitanter confirmant. Ventorum namque flamina contrariorum tribus nos ipsi vicibus in secunda vidimus conversa.

Prima vice cum dolatæ¹ per terram² pineæ et roboreæ traherentur longæ naves,³ et magnæ navium pariter materiæ eveherentur domus; beati viri vestimenta et libros, inito consilio, super altare, cum psalmis et jejunatione, et ejus nominis invocatione, posuimus, ut a Domino ventorum prosperitatem nobis profuturam impetraret. Quod ita eidem sancto viro, Deo donante, factum est. Nam ea die qua nostri nautæ, omnibus præparatis, supra memoratarum ligna materiarum proposuere scaphis per mare et curucis trahere venti, præteritis contrarii diebus, subito in secundos conversi sunt. Tum deinde, per longas et obliquas vias, tota die prosperis flatibus, Deo propitio, famulantibus; et plenis sine ulla retardatione velis, ad Ionam insulam omnis illa navalis emigratio prospere pervenit.

Secunda vero vice, cum post aliquantos intervenientes annos, aliæ nobiscum roboreæ ab ostio fluminis Salx,³ duodecim curucis congregatis, materiæ ad nostrum renovandum traherentur monasterium, alio die tranquillo nautis mare palmulis verrentibus, subito nobis contrarius insurgit Favonius, qui et Zephirus ventus, in proximam tum declinamus insulam, quæ Scotice vocitatur Airtrago,⁴ in ea portum ad manendum quærentes. Sed inter hæc de illa importuna venti contrarietate querimur; et quodammodo quasi accusare nostrum Columbam cœpimus, dicentes: Placetne tibi, Sancte, hæc nobis adversa retardatio? Huc usque a te, Deo propitio, aliquod nostrorum laborum præstari speravimus consolatorium adjumentum, te videlicet æstimantes alicujus esse grandis apud Deum honoris. His dictis, post modicum, quasi unius momenti, intervallum, mirum dictu, ecce Favonius ventus cessat contrarius, Vultur- usque flat, dicto citius, secundus. Jussi tum nautæ antennas, crucis instar, et vela protensis sublevant rudentibus, prosperisque

¹⁻¹ A. om. B.

² Probably made of hollowed trees. Such boats have been found in various parts of Scotland and Ireland in bogs, and at the bottom of lakes. Three kinds of vessels are mentioned in this chapter—*naves longæ*, *scapha*, and *curuca*. Others mentioned elsewhere are *barca* (I., 28), *navicula* (I., 34) *navis oneraria*, *almus*, *caupallus*, *cymba*, *cymbula* (II., 3, 27, 34).

³ sale, A. The Seil, in Lorne.

⁴ airthrago, A. airtago, Cott. Probably the island of Kerrera. Dr. Reeves suggests Arran.

et lenibus flabris eadem die nostramque appetentes insulam, sine ulla laboratione, cum illis omnibus qui navibus inerant nostris cooperatoribus, in lignorum evectione gaudentes, devehimur. Non mediocriter, quamlibet levis, illa querula nobis sancti accusatio viri profuit. Quantique et qualis est apud Deum meriti Sanctus apparet, quem in ventorum ipse tam celeri conversione audierat.

Tertia proinde vice, cum nos æstivo tempore, post Hiberniensis synodi conductum,⁵ in plebe Generis Lorrni⁶ per aliquot, venti contrarietate, retardaremur dies, ad Saineam devenimus insulam⁷; ibidemque demoratos festiva sancti Columbæ nox et sollemnis dies nos invenit valde tristificatos, videlicet desiderantes eadem diem in Iona facere lætificam insula. Unde sicut prius alia querebamus vice, dicentes: Placetne tibi, Sancte, crastinam tuæ festivitatis inter plebeios, et non in tua ecclesia transigere diem? Facile tibi est talis in exordio diei a Domino impetrare ut contrarii in secundos vertantur venti, et in tua celebremus ecclesia tui natalis missarum sollemnia. Post eandem transactam noctem diluculo mane consurgimus et videntes cessasse contrarios flatus, conscensis navibus, nullo flante vento, in mare progredimur, et ecce statim post nos auster cardinalis, qui et notus inflat. Tum proinde ovantes nautæ vela subrigunt: sicque ea die talis, sine labore, nostra tam festina navigatio, et tam prospera, beato viro donante Deo, fuit, ut sicuti prius exoptavimus, post horam diei tertiam ad Ionæ portum pervenientes insulæ, postea manuum et pedum peracta lavatione, hora sexta ecclesiam cum fratribus intrantes, sacra missarum sollemnia pariter celebraremus, in die festo in quam natalis sanctorum Columbæ et Baitheni:⁸ cujus diluculo, ut

⁵ Its date is uncertain, but it was probably held a considerable time before Adamnan wrote his memoirs.

⁶ loerni, A. The tribe of Lorn, with which St. Columba was closely connected, being grandson of Erca, daughter of Loarn Mor. Of the first twelve abbots of Hy, nine, including Adamnan, were descended from her.

⁷ The island of Shuna, in Nether Lorne, near its southren extremity.

⁸ June 9th. St. Baithene was cousin-german and immediate successor of St. Columba. He ruled three years, and died A.D. 600. See Colgan's *Acta SS.*, p. 438, and *The Bollandists*, June ii., pp. 233-235.

supradictum est, de Sainea insula, longius sita, emigravimus. Hujus ergo præmissæ narrationis testes, non bini tantum vel terni, secundum legem, sed centeni et amplius adhuc exstant.

CAPUT XLVI.

De Mortalitate.

ET hoc etiam, ut æstimo, non inter minora, virtutum miracula connumerandum videtur de mortalitate,¹ quæ nostris temporibus terrarum orbem bis ex parte vastaverat majore. Nam ut de cæteris taceam latioribus Europæ regionibus, hoc est, Italia et ipsa Romana civitate, et Cisalpinis Galliarum provinciis, Hispanis quoque Pyrinæi montis interjectu disternatis, oceani insulæ per totum, videlicet, Scotia² et Britannia, binis vicibus vastatæ sunt dira pestilentia, exceptis duobus populis, hoc est, Pictorum plebe, et Scottorum Britannia, inter quos utrosque Dorsi montes Britannici disternant. Et quamvis utrorumque populorum non desint grandia peccata, quibus plerumque ad iracundiam æternus provocatur judex; utrisque tamen huc usque, patienter ferens ipse pepercit. Cui alii itaque hæc tribuitur gratia a Deo collata, nisi sancto Columbæ, cujus monasteria intra utrorumque populorum terminos fundata ab utrisque ad præsens tempus valde sunt honorificata. Sed hoc quod nunc dicturi sumus, ut arbitramur non sine gemitu audiendum est, quia sunt plerique in utrisque populis valde stolidi, qui se Sanctorum orationibus a moribus³ defensos nescientes, ingrati Dei patientia male abutuntur. Nos vero Deo agimus crebras grates, qui nos et in his nostris insulis, orante pro nobis nostro venerabili patrono, a mortalitatum invasionibus defendit; et in Saxonia regem Alfridum⁴ visitantes amicum,

¹ Called in Britain the Yellow Plague. It is said to have first visited Britain in 547, and Ireland in 550. The second recorded visitation of Hy by the disease was in 664, during the presidency of Cuimine Ailbhe, when Adamnan was about forty years of age. See Dr. Reeves' note *in loc.*

² Ireland.

³ morbis, A.

⁴ alfridum. Oswy, King of Northumbria, died in 670, and was succeeded by

adhuc non cessante pestilentia, et multos hinc inde vicos devastante, ita tamen nos Dominus, et in prima post bellum Egfridi visitatione, et in secunda, interjectis duobus annis, in tali mortalitatis medio deambulantes periculo liberavit, ut ne unus etiam de nostris comitibus moreretur, nec aliquis ex eis aliquo molestaretur morbo.

Hic secundus de virtutum miraculis finiendus est liber: in quo animadvertere lector debet, quod, etiam de compertis, in eo multa propter legentium evitandum prætermissa sint fastidium.

Explicit Liber Secundus.

his son Egfrid. Aldfrid, though an elder brother, was set aside on the ground of illegitimacy, and retired to Ireland, where he is said to have given himself up to the study of philosophy. Among the Irish he was familiarly known by the name of Flann Fina. Pinkerton wrongly identified him with Alchfrid, a legitimate son of Oswy, who was invested with regal power by his father, but died at an earlier date. See Reeves, *Adamn.* pp., 186-187.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA TERTII LIBRI.

- De Angelicis Apparitionibus quæ vel aliis de beato viro, vel eidem de aliis, revelatæ sunt.
- De angelo Domini, qui ejus genetrici in somnis post ipsius in utero conceptionem apparuit.
- De radio luminoso super dormientis ipsius pueri faciem viso.
- De angelorum apparitione sanctorum, quos sanctus BRENDENUS, beati comites viri, per campum viderat commeantes.
- De angelo Domini, quem sanctus FENNIO beati viri socium itineris vidit.
- De angelo Domini, qui ad sanctum COLUMBAM, in Himba commorantem insula per visum apparuit, missus ut AIDANUM in regem ordinaret.
- De angelorum apparitione alicujus Brittonis animam ad cœlum vehentium.
- De angelorum revelata eidem sancto viro visione, qui animam alicujus DIORMITHI ad cœlum ducebant.
- De angelorum contra dæmones forti belligeratione, Sancto in eodem bello opportune subvenientium.
- De angelorum apparitione, quos vir Dei viderat alicujus animam nomine COLUMBI, fabri ferrarii, COLLRIGINI cognomento, ad cœlos evehere.
- De angelorum simili visione, quos vir beatus aspexerat alicujus bene moratæ feminæ animam ad cœlum ferre.
- De angelorum apparitione sanctorum, quos sanctus COLUMBA obvios in transitu viderat beati BRENDENI animæ, illius monasterii fundatoris quod Scottice Birra nuncupatur.
- De angelorum visione sanctorum, qui sancti COLUMBANI episcopi, Muculoigse, animam ad cœlum evexerant.
- De angelorum apparitione qui obviam animabus sancti monachorum COMGELLI descenderant.
- De angelorum manifestatione alicujus EMCHATHI¹ animæ obviantium.

¹ emdathi, B.

De angelo Domini, qui alicui fratri lapso de monasterii culmine rotundi in Roboreti Campo opportune tam cito subvenerat.

De angelorum multitudine sanctorum visa ad beati conductum viri de coelo descendentium.

De columna luminosa sancti viri de vertice ardere visa.

De Spiritus Sancti descensione sive visitatione quæ in eadem insula, tribus continuis diebus, totidemque noctibus, super venerabilem mansit virum.

De angelicæ lucis claritudine, quam VIRGNOUS, bonæ indolis juvenis, qui post, Deo auctore, huic præfuit ecclesiæ, cui ego, indignus licet, deservio, super sanctum COLUMBAM in ecclesia, fratribus hiemali nocte in cubiculis quiescentibus, descendere viderat.

De alia prope simili celsæ claritudinis visione.

De alia parili divinæ lucis apparitione.

De alia angelorum sancto manifestata viro apparitione ; quos sanctæ ejus animæ obviare incipientes quasi mox de corpore viderat migraturæ.

De transitu ad Dominum sancti nostri patroni COLUMBÆ.

Expliciunt Capitula Tertii Libri.

INCIPIT TEXTUS TERTII LIBRI.
DE ANGELICIS VISIONIBUS.

CAPUT I.

De angelo Domini qui ejus genetrici in somnis post ipsius in utero conceptionem, apparuit.

IN Primo ex his tribus libellis libro, ut superius commemoratum est, de Prophetis Revelationibus quædam breviter succincteque, Domino navante, descripta sunt. In Secundo superiore, de Virtutum Miraculis, quæ per beatum declarata sunt virum, et quæ, ut sæpe dictum est, plerumque prophetationis comitatur gratia. In hoc vero Tertio, de Angelicis Apparitionibus, quæ vel aliis de beato viro, vel ipsi de aliis, revelatæ sunt. Et de his, quæ utroque, quamlibet disparili modo, hoc est, ipsi proprie et plenius, aliis vero improprie, et ex quadam parte, sunt manifestatæ, hoc est extrinsecus et explorative, in iisdem tamen, vel angelorum vel cœlestis visionibus lucis : quæ utique talium discrepantiæ visionum suis carraxatæ locis inferius clarebunt. Sed nunc, ut a primordiis beati nativitatis viri easdem describere angelicas apparitiones incipiamus.

ANGELUS Domini¹ in somnis genetrici² venerabilis viri quadam nocte inter conceptum ejus et partum apparuit, eique quasi

¹ Cf. the Life by Cummian, from which the whole of this book with the exception of two chapters has been transferred. The narrative has been considerably enlarged, but the order of events is observed and often the form of expression. The text approaches nearer to Mabillon's than to Colgan's.

² Eithne, called, in Latin form, Aethnea in Pref. 2.

quoddam miræ pulchritudinis peplum adsistens detulit ; in quo veluti universorum decorosi colores florum depicti videbantur ; quodque post aliquod breve intervallum ejus de manibus reposcens abstulit ; elevansque et expandens in aere dimisit vacuo. Illa vero de illo tristificata sublato, sic ad illum venerandi habitus virum : Cur a me, ait, hoc lætificum tam cito abstrahis pallium ? Ille consequenter : Idcirco, inquit, quia hoc sagum alicujus est tam magnifici honoris, apud te diutius retinere non poteris. His dictis, supra memoratum peplum³ mulier paulatim a se elongari volando videbat, camporumque latitudinem in majus crescendo excedere, montesque et saltus majore sui mensura superare ; vocemque hujuscemodi subsecutam audierat : Mulier noles tristificari, viro⁴ enim cui matrimoniali copula es juncta fœdere⁵ talem filium editura es floridum, qui quasi unus prophetarum Dei inter ipsos connumerabitur, innumerabiliumque animarum dux ad cœlestem a Deo patriam est prædestinatus. In hac audita voce mulier expergiscitur.

CAPUT II.

De radio luminoso super dormientis ipsius pueri faciem viso.

ALIA in nocte, ejusdem beati pueri nutritor, spectabilis vitæ vir, presbyter Cruithnechanus,¹ post missam ab ecclesia² ad hospitium revertens, totam invenit domum suam clara irradiatam

³ The old Irish Life describes it as a large cloak reaching from Inishymoe, or the group of islands in Clew Bay, on the coast of Mayo, to the north-east coast of Scotland, probably to Burg Head.

⁴ Called Fedilmithus in Pref. 2.

⁵ A. om. B. Cott.

¹ Colgan identifies him with Cairiotan of Druimlara, whose festival is March 7 ; but the name does not occur in the Irish Calendars. In the old Irish Life he is called "Cruithnechan, son of Cellachan, the illustrious priest." Cruithnechan is a diminutive of Cruithnech, Pict, and occurs in the Irish Nennius, p. 126.

² Cillmicenain, now Kilmacrenan, in the county of Donegal.

luce ; globum quippe igneum³ super pueruli dormientis faciem stantem vidit. Quo viso statim intremuit, et prostrato in terram vultu valde miratus, Spiritus Sancti gratiam super suum intellexit alumnum cœlitus effusam.

CAPUT III.

De angelorum apparitione sanctorum quos sanctus Brendenus Beati comites Viri per campum viderat commeantes.

POST namque multorum intervalla temporum, cum a quodam synodo¹ pro quibusdam veniabilibus² et tam³ excusabilibus causis, non recte, ut post in fine claruit, sanctus excommunicaretur Columba, ad eandem contra ipsum collectam venit congregationem. Quem cum eminus appropinquantem sanctus vidisset Brendenus,⁴ illius monasterii fundator, quod Scotice Birra nuncupatur, citius surgit, et inclinata facie, eum veneratus exosculatur. Quem cum aliqui illius seniores cœtus⁵ seorsim cæteris⁶ redarguerent semotis, dicentes : Quare coram excommunicato surgere, et eum exosculari non renueris ? taliter ad

³ The mother of St. Mochaomhoc saw a similar prodigy. St. Comgall's mother beheld a pillar of fire reaching from heaven to the head of her sleeping infant. A ball of fire was seen over the place where St. Declan was born, and a pillar of fire indicated the place where St. Brigid lay when an infant. On the night in which St. Brendan of Clonfert was born, Bishop Ercus saw the whole region where the saint lay filled with light and flying angels. See Reeves, *Adamn.*, p. 192, and *Acta SS. Hib.* (Cod. Sal.), coll., 761 and 773.

¹ The date of this synod is unknown. Ussher and Colgan place it immediately after the battle of Cooldrevny (Cul Dreibne) in the year 561; but see Reeves' note, *Adamn.*, p. 192-193, and O'Donovan's on the year 555 of the *Four Masters*.

² venerabilibus, Cott.

³ A. om. B. Cott.

⁴ He was the son of Neman and Mansenna, of the race of Corb Aulam, and great-grandson of Rudhraighe, founder of the Clanna Rudhraighe. In order to distinguish him from Brendan of Clonfert, also a contemporary and intimate friend of St. Columba, he was sometimes called Senior Brendanus. The date of his founding the church of Birr, now Parsonstown, is not recorded. His death is entered in Tighernach at 565 and 573, where under 559 there is the curious entry "Ascensio Brenaind in curru suo in aerem." He died on the night before the 29th of November, which is his day in the Calendar, in his eightieth year.

⁵ A. fetus, B.

⁶ A. om. B. Cott.

eos inquires : Si vos, ait, videritis ea quæ mihi Dominus hac in die de hoc suo, quem dehonoris, electo manifestare non dedignatus est, nunquam excommunicassetis, quem Deus non solum, secundum vestram non rectam sententiam, nullo excommunicat modo, sed etiam magis ac magis magnificat. Illi e contra : Quomodo, aiunt, ut dicis, ipsum glorificat Deus, quem nos non sine causa excommunicavimus, scire cupimus? Ignicomam et valde luminosam, ait Brendenus, columnam vidi eundem quem vos despicitis, antecedentem Dei hominem. Angelos quoque sanctos per campum ejus itineris comites. Hunc itaque spernere non audeo quem populorum ducem ad vitam a Deo præordinatum video. His ab eo dictis, non tantum, ultra Sanctum excommunicare non ausi, cessarunt, sed etiam valde venerati honorarunt. ⁷Hoc tamen factum est hi Teilte.⁸

CAPUT IV.

De angelo Domini quem sanctus Fennio¹ Beati Viri socium itineris vidit.

ALIO in tempore, vir sanctus venerandum episcopum Fennionem, suum videlicet magistrum, juvenis² senem, adiit ; quem cum sanctus Fennio ad se appropinquantem vidisset, angelum

⁷ This sentence is from A. ; by B. and Cott. it is omitted.

⁸ Now Teltown in Meath, situated between Kells and Navan, famous in old times for its great annual assembly and fair, which was held about the 1st of August. It was also a seat of royalty, the monarch of Ireland being sometimes styled King of Teilte. See Dr. Reeves' note on the passage, *Adamn.*, p. 194.

¹ finnio, A. Cumman calls him Finnianus, and identifies him with the individual whom Adamnan names Findbarrus in II., 1. There were two St. Finnians—St. Finnian of Maghbile and St. Finnian of Clonard—both of whom were teachers of St. Columba. According to Pinkerton (see the Life by Cumman, c. 3, note 3), the St. Finnian here referred to was the latter ; but it was more probably he of Maghbile. He is commemorated in the Calendars at September 10. St. Finnian of Clonard is commemorated at December 12. He is styled "magister sanctorum Hiberniæ suæ temporis."

² If the close of the present chapter properly refers to this interview, St. Columba was now forty-two years of age.

Domini pariter ejus comitem itineris vidit. Et, ut nobis ab expertis traditur, quibusdam astantibus intimavit fratribus, inquiens: En nunc videatis sanctum advenientem Columbam, qui sui commeatus meruit habere socium angelum cœlicolam. Iisdem diebus³ Sanctus cum duodecim commilitonibus⁴ discipulis ad Britanniam transnavigavit.

CAPUT V.

De angelo Domini, qui ad sanctum Columbam, in Himba commorantem insula, per visum apparuit, missus ut Aidanum in regem ordinaret.

ALIO in tempore,¹ cum vir prædicabilis in Himba² commoraretur insula, quadam nocte in extasi mentis angelum Domini ad se missum vidit, qui in manu vitreum ordinationis regum habebat librum.³ Quem cum vir venerandus de manu angeli

³ Cf. the Life by Cumman, capp. iii., iv. The clause here borrowed from c. iv. is differently applied.

⁴ Their names are given at the end of the present book.

¹ Tighernach, the Annals of Ulster, and Ussher place the death of Conall, son of Comgall, Aidan's predecessor, at 574; T. Innes and Chalmers, at 571.

² Or Hinba. "The identification of this island," Dr. Reeves observes, "remains the great desideratum in Hebridean topography." Dr. Skene has shown that it is the island of Elachnave or Eileann-na-Naoimh, the Island of the Saints, one of a group of six islands, usually termed the Garvelochs, two of which are near the north end of the island of Luing, and the others in the channel separating Mull from the east of Lorne. *Adamn.*, p. 318, ed. 1874.

³ Called further on *vitreus codex*. Its precise character has been disputed. According to T. Innes, *Civ. Eccl. Hist.*, p. 200, its contents were "the prayers and ceremonies of the Ordination or Inauguration of Kings." Further on, p. 202, he says of it, "This ceremonial book is called by Adamnan, *Liber Vitreus*, because, perhaps, the cover of it was encrusted with glass or crystal." Dr. Reeves, who cites this opinion, observes, "From the context, however, it may be inferred that the present expression is not intended as a proper name, but rather as descriptive, and that the idea conveyed is 'a book of glass,' containing heaven's decrees concerning the succession of earthly monarchs, among whose names that of Ædan was expressly entered, as the individual destined to govern Dalriada. . . . This book of glass, 'clear as crystal,' was only presented to the Saint while in an *extasis mentis*, and on each occasion was delivered by an angel. It contained the

accepisset, ab eo jussus, legere cœpit. Qui cum secundum quod ei in libro erat commendatum Aidanum in regem ordinare recusaret, quia magis Iogenanum⁴ fratrem ejus diligeret, subito angelus, extendens manum, Sanctum percussit flagello, cujus livorosum in ejus latere vestigium omnibus suæ diebus permansit vitæ. Hocque intulit verbum: Pro certo scias, inquires, quia ad te a Deo missus sum cum vitreo libro, ut juxta verba quæ in eo legisti, Aidanum in regnum ordines. Quod si obsecundare huic nolueris jussioni, percutiam te iterato. Hic itaque angelus Domini, cum per tres continuas noctes, eundem in manu vitreum habens codicem, apparuisset, eademque Domini jussa de regis ejusdem ordinatione commendasset, Sanctus, verbo obsecutus Domini, ad Ionam transnavi-

fiat of Ædan's inauguration, and the saint's hesitation was, not an unwillingness to employ any formulas supposed to have been contained therein, but a reluctance to receive the object of heaven's choice instead of his own." The Marquess of Bute, however, suggests "that the true explanation may lie between the two." "The book," he continues, "was as immaterial as the angel who bore it, and the notion of the substantial volume of some well-known old copy of a prayer-book with glass knobs on the binding is altogether inadmissible amid the airy fabric of a vision. Moreover, the fault of Columba was not a ritualistic scruple about using some particular form of service, but a resistance to the ordination of Aidan in particular, whose name the book contained somewhere near the beginning. And this circumstance itself shows that a common earthly copy of the Ritual cannot be meant, since in all Ritual books of this kind a blank (or rather, the letter *N* as initial of *Nomen*) occupies the place of the name of the King-elect, where the officiant is to insert it. It was in order that he might read the name there that the book was given to Columba, who cannot be supposed to have been ignorant of the forms of a well-known Church service; although it is also possible that it may be represented as now for the first time officially placed in his hands on this, the first occasion since his removal to Scotland, that a vacancy had occurred upon the Dalriadic Throne." . . . "It seems impossible to understand the book mentioned as other than a visionary presentment of a copy of the Ordination Ritual, in whose letters of light the name of Aidan was inserted in the prayers. It was given to Columba to read, not only as charging him with the duty of performing the religious inauguration of the Kings of Dalriada . . . but also that he might see by reading in it whose name he should first have to insert in it." Of the three explanations, the last is the most satisfactory; but see the *Scottish Review*, January, 1888, Article—"The Earliest Scottish Coronations," where the subject is very fully discussed by the last mentioned writer.

⁴ A diminutive of Iogen. His death is recorded by Tighernach at 595. The Annals of Ulster place it a year earlier.

gavit insulam, ibidemque Aidanum, iisdem adventantem diebus, in regem, sicut erat jussus, ordinavit. Et inter ordinationis verba, de filiis⁵ et nepotibus pronepotibusque ejus futura prophetizavit: imponensque manum super caput ejus, ordinans benedixit.

[Cummeneus Albus⁶ in libro quem de virtutibus sancti Columbæ scripsit, sic dixit quod sanctus Columba de Aidano, et de posteris ejus, et de regno suo, prophetare cœpit, dicens: Indubitanter crede, O Aidane, quoniam nullus adversariorum tuorum tibi poterit resistere, donec prius fraudulentiam agas in me et in posteros meos. Propterea ergo tu filiis commenda ut et ipsi filiis et nepotibus et posteris suis commendent, ne per consilia mala eorum sceptrum regni hujus de manibus suis perdant. In quocunque enim tempore adversum me aut adversus cognatos meos, qui sunt in Hibernia fecerint, flagellum, quod causa tui ab angelo sustinui, per manum Dei super eos in magnum flagitium vertetur, et cor virorum auferetur ab eis et inimici eorum vehementer super eos confortabuntur.⁷

Hoc autem vaticinium temporibus nostris completum est, in bello Roth,⁸ Domnail Brecco, nepote Aidani, sine causa vastante provinciam Domnill nepotis Ainmuireg. Et a die illa usque hodie adhuc in proclivo sunt ab extraneis;⁹ quod suspiria doloris pectori incutit.]¹⁰

CAPUT VI.

De angelorum apparitione, alicujus beati Britonis animam ad cælum vehentium.

ALIO in tempore, cum vir sanctus in Iona commoraretur

⁵ See I., i., note 9.

⁶ The seventh abbot of Hy, 657-669. For an account of him and of his Life of St. Columba see the introduction to the present volume.

⁷ Cf. the Life by Cumman, c. v.

⁸ It was fought in 637. Moira, a village and parish in the county of Down, is supposed to have been the scene of the battle, but the identity of the place is doubtful.

⁹ See Cumman's Life, c. v. and note 4; also Dr. Reeves' *Adamn.*, p. 201-203; and Skene's *Celtic Scot.*, i., 247.

¹⁰ The passage placed in brackets is omitted by B. and Cott.

insula, quidam de suis monachis, Brito, bonis actibus intentus, molestia correptus corporis, ad extrema perductus est. Quem cum vir venerandus in hora sui visitaret exitus, paulisper ad lectulum ejus assistens, et ei benedicens, oculus domum egreditur, nolens videre morientem. Qui eodem momento post sancti de domu secessum viri præsentem finit vitam. Tum vir prædicabilis in plateola sui deambulans monasteriis, porrectis ad cælum oculis, diutius valde obstupescens, inclinabatur. Quidam vero frater, Aidanus nomine, filius Liber,¹ bonæ indolis et religiosus homo, qui solus de fratribus eadem adfuit hora, flexis genibus, rogare cœpit ut Sanctus eidem tantæ admirationis causam intimaret. Cui Sanctus: Nunc sanctos angelos in aere contra adversarias potestates belligerare vidi; Christoque agonothetæ gratias ago, quia victores angelum animam hujus peregrini, qui primus apud nos in hac insula mortuus est, ad cœlestis patriæ gaudia evexerunt. Sed hoc quæso sacramentum nemini in vita mea reveles.

CAPUT VII.

De angelorum revelata eidem Sancto Viro visione, qui animam alicujus Diormiti ad cælum ducebant.

ALIO in tempore, quidam Hiberniensis peregrinus ad Sanctum perveniens, per aliquot apud eum menses in lona commanebat insula. Cui vir beatus alia die: Nunc, ait, quidam de provincialibus tuis clericis ad cælum ab angelis portatur, cujus adhuc ignoro nomen. Frater vero hoc audiens, cepit secum de vitæ² perscrutari Anteriorum,³ qui Scoticæ Inclairthir⁴ nuncupantur, et de illius beati hominis vocabulis; hisque consequenter intulit verbum, inquiens: Aliam Christi militarem viam, qui est in eodem territorio, in quo et ego commanebam, monstrandum

¹ Liber, A.

² provincia, A.

³ Equivalens in Orientalibus.

⁴ A. From and in all form of the etc. in the present, which is usually printed in the same, and *Anterior*, *Anterior*. B. and C. etc. have *Anterior*.

construxit, nomine Diormitium. Cui Sanctus ait : Ipse est de quo dicis, qui nunc ab angelis Dei in paradisum deductus est. Sed hoc etiam non negligeret adnotandum est, quod idem vir venerabilis multa sibi a Deo arcana, ab aliis celata, sacramenta, nullo modo in hominum notitiam prodi passus sit, duabus, ut ipse aliquando paucis intimaverat fratribus, causis existentibus ; hoc est, ut jactantiam devitaret, et ad semetipsum interrogandum, insustentabiles turbas de se aliqua interrogare volentes, divulgata revelationum fama, non invitaret.

CAPUT VIII.

De angelorum contra dæmones forti belligeratione, Sancto in eodem bello opportune subvenientium.

ALIA die, vir sanctus in Iona conversans insula, remotiorem ab hominibus locum, aptumque ad orationem, in saltibus quæsivit ; ibidemque cum orare cœpisset, subito, ut ipse postea paucis intimaverat fratribus, videt contra se nigerrimam dæmonum¹ cum ferreis veribus aciem præliari : qui, sicuti sancto viro per Spiritum revelatum erat, monasterium ejus

¹ St. Columba's recorded encounters with demons are numerous. Dr. Reeves cites the following legend of King Brandubh's death as containing the narrative of his most brilliant achievement in this way : " Brandubh was killed on the morrow, and demons carried off his soul into the air. And Maedhog [Abbot of Ferns] heard the wail of his soul as it was undergoing pain, while he was with the reapers. And he went into the air, and began battle with the demons. And they passed over Hy : and Columkille heard them while he was writing ; and he stuck the style into his cloak, and went to the battle, to the aid of Maedhog, in defence of Brandubh's soul. And the battle passed over Rome, and the style fell out of Columkille's cloak, and dropped in front of Gregory, who took it up in his hand. Columkille followed the soul of Brandubh to heaven. When he reached it, the congregation of heaven were at Celebration, namely, *Te decet hymnus*, and *Benedic anima mea*, and *Laudate pueri Dominum* ; and this is the beginning of the Celebration of heaven. Columkille did the same as the people of heaven. And they brought Brandubh's soul back to his body again. Columkille tarried with Gregory ; and brought away Gregory's brooch with him, and it is the hereditary brooch of the coarb of Columkille to this day. And he left his style with Gregory."—Lib. Lecan., fol. 183 a.

invadere, et multos ex fratribus iisdem volebant jugulare sudi-
bus. Ipse viro contra tales æmulos unus homo innumeros,
accepta Pauli armatura apostoli, forti conflictu dimicabat. Et
ita ex majore diei parte utrinque dimicatum est, nec innumer-
abiles unum vincere poterant, nec eos unus de sua valebat
insula repellere; donec angeli Dei, ut Sanctus post quibusdam
non multis retulerat, in adminiculum affuere; quorum timore
proturbati dæmones loco cessere. Eademque die, Sanctus
ad monasterium post dæmoniorum reversus de sua insula
effugationem, hoc de eisdem turmis hostilibus verbum
profatur, inquiens: Illi exitiabiles æmuli qui hac die
de hujus terrulæ, Deo propitio, regione, angelis nobis sub-
venientibus, ad Ethicam effugati sunt terram,^a ibidemque
sævi invasores, fratrum monasteria invadent, et pestilentes
inferent morbos, quorum molestia infestati, multi morientur.
Quod iisdem diebus, juxta beati præscientiam viri, ita et factum
est. Et post, interveniente biduo, ei revelante Spiritu: Bene,
ait, Baitheneus,³ auxiliante Deo, dispensavit ut ejusdem ecclesiæ
cui, Deo auctore, præest in Campo Lunge, jejuniis et orationi-
bus collectio a dæmonum defendatur invasione: ubi nemo,
excepto uno qui mortuus est, hac vice morietur. Quod ita,
juxta vaticinium ejus, expletum est. Nam cum multi in
cæteris ejusdem insulæ monasteriis⁴ eodem morbo morerentur,
nemo, nisi unus de quo Sanctus dixit apud Baitheneum in sua
est mortuus congregatione.

CAPUT IX.

*De angelorum apparitione, quos vir Dei viderat alicujus ani-
mam, nomine Columbi, fabri ferrarii Coilrigini cognomento,
ad cælos evehere.*

QUIDAM faber ferrarius in mediterranea Scotiæ habitabat

^a The island of Tiree.

³ See I., 19, 30, 41, and II., 15, *supra*.

⁴ For the ecclesiastical remains of the island, see Dr. Reeves' paper on "The Island of Tiree," in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Oct., 1854, and Muir's *Ecclesiological Notes on some of the Islands of Scotland*, pp. 29, *et seq.*

parte, eleemosynarum operibus satis intentus, et cæteris justitiæ actibus plenus. Hic, cum ad extrema in bona senectute perduceretur, supra memoratus Columbus cognominatus Coiliginus, eadem hora qua de corpore eductus est, sanctus Columba in Iona commanens insula, paucis quibusdam se circumstantibus, sic profatus, senioribus : Columbus Coiliginus, ait, faber ferrarius,¹ non incassum laboravit, qui de propria manuum latione suarum præmia, emax, felix, comparuit æterna. Ecce enim, nunc anima ejus a sanctis vehitur angelis ad cœlestis patriæ gaudia. Nam quodcunque de suæ artis negotiatione acquirere potuit, in egenorum eleemosynas expendit.

CAPUT X.

De angelorum simili visione, quos Vir Beatus aspexerat alicujus bene moratæ feminæ animam ad cælum ferre.

ALIO itidem in tempore, vir sanctus in Iona conversans insula, quadam die, subito oculos ad cælum dirigens, hæc profatus est verba : Felix mulier, felix bene morata, cujus animam nunc angeli Dei ad paradisum evehunt. Erat autem quidam religiosus frater Genereus nomine, Saxo, pistor, opus pistorium² exercens, qui hoc audierat verbum ex ore Sancti prolatum. Eademque die mensis, eodem terminato anno, Sanctus eidem Genereo, Saxoni : Miram rem video, ait ; ecce, mulier de qua, te præsentem, præterito dixeram anno nunc mariti sui religiosi cujusdam plebeii in aere obviat animæ, et cum sanctis angelis contra æmulas pro ea belligerat potestates : quorum adminiculo, ejusdem homuncionis justitia suffragante, a dæmonum billigationibus erepta, ad æternæ refrigerationis locum anima ipsius est perducta.

¹ Colgan supposes him to have been the Colum Gobha, Colum the smith, commemorated in the Calendars at June 7.

² A. pistorum B.

CAPUT XI.

De angelorum apparitione sanctorum, quos sanctus Columba obvios in transitu viderat beati Brendeni animæ, illius monasterii fundatoris quod Scottice Birra nuncupatur.

ALIA itidem die, dum vir venerandus in Iona conversaretur insula, mane primo suum advocat sæpe memoratum ministratorem Diormitium nomine, eique præcipit, inquires: Sacra celeriter Eucharistiæ ministeria præparentur. Hodie enim natalis beati Brendeni dies. Quare, ait minister, talia missarum solemnia hodierna præparari præcipis? nullus enim ad nos de Scotia sancti illius viri obitus pervenit nuncius. Vade tum, ait Sanctus, meæ obsecundare jussioni debes. Hac enim nocte præterita vidi subito apertum cælum, angelorumque choros innumerorum¹ sancti Brendeni animæ obvios descendere; quorum luminosa et incomparabili claritudine totus eadem hora illustratus est mundi orbis.

CAPUT XII.

De angelorum visione sanctorum, qui sancti Columbani episcopi, Mocu Loigse, animam ad cælum evexerant.

QUADAM itidem die, dum fratres, se calceantes, mane ad diversa monasterii opera ire præpararent, Sanctus e contra ea die otiari præcipit, sacræque oblationis obsequia præparari, et aliquam, quasi in Dominico, prandioli adjectionem fieri. Meque, ait, hodie, quamlibet indignus sim, ob venerationem illius animæ, quæ hac in nocte inter sanctos angelorum choros vecta, ultra sidera cælorum spatia ad paradisum, ascendit, sacra oportet Eucharistiæ celebrare mysteria. Et his dictis

¹ om. A.

fratres obsequuntur, et juxta Sancti jussionem, eadem ociantur die ; præparatisque sacris, ad ecclesiam, ministeriis, quasi die solemni abbati¹ cum Sancto pergunt. Sed forte, dum inter alia cum modulatione officia illa consueta decantaretur deprecatio,² in qua sancti Martini commemoratur nomen, subito Sanctus ad cantores, ejusdem onomatis ad locum pervenientes : Hodie, ait, pro sancto Columbano episcopo³ decantare debetis. Tunc omnes qui inerant fratres intellexere, quod Columbanus, episcopus Lagenensis, carus Columbæ amicus, ad Dominum emigraverit. Et post alicujus temporis intervallum, aliqui de Lagenica commeantes provincia ea nocte eundem obiisse nunciant episcopum qua Sancto ita revelatum est.

CAPUT XIII.

De angelorum apparitione, qui obviam animabus sancti monachorum Comgelli descenderant.

ALIO in tempore, vir venerandus, cum in Iona conversaretur insula, quadam subitatione incitatus, signo personante, collectis fratribus : Nunc, ait, oratione monachis abbatis Comgelli¹ auxiliemur, hac in hora in Stagno demersis Vituli ;² ecce enim hoc momento in aere contra adversarias belligerant potestates, animam alicujus hospitis simul cum eis dimersi eripere conantes. Tum post lacrymosam et intentam orationem, cito ante altarium surgens, inter fratres pariter in oratione prostratos, lætificato vultu : Christo, ait, gratias agite, nunc enim sancti angeli, sanctis obviantes animabus, et ipsum hospitem ereptum a dæmonum belligerationibus, quasi victoriales liberarunt belligeratores.

¹ albat, A. Cott. ; sabbati, Colg. Boll.

² A prayer "pro animabus defunctorum" into which St. Columba now introduces a fresh name.

³ Surnamed in the title Mocu Loigse, and known also as Colmanus. His festival is May 15. See note to Cumman's Life, c. 8.

¹ See note I., 49.

² Belfast Lough. The village of Bangor, where formerly stood St. Comgall's great monastery of Bennchar, is situated on the Down side of the Lough.

CAPUT XIV.

De angelorum manifestatione alicujus Emchathi animæ obviantium.

ALIO in tempore, vir sanctus, ultra Brittanniæ Dorsum iter agens, secus Nesæ fluminis lacum, subito inspiratus Spiritu Sancto, ad fratres pariter commeantes: Properemus, ait, sanctis obviam angelis, qui de summis cœli regionibus ad præferendam alicujus gentilici animam emissi, nos illuc usque pervenientes exspectant, ut ipsum, naturale bonum per totam vitam usque ad extremam senectutem conservantem, priusquam moriatur, opportune baptizemus. Et, hæc dicens, sanctus senex in quantum potuit comites festinus præcedebat, donec in illum devenit agrum qui Aircardan¹ nuncupatur: ibidemque quidam repertus senex, Emchatus nomine, audiens a Sancto verbum Dei prædicatum, et credens, baptizatus est, et continuo, lætus et securus, cum angelis obviantibus ei, ad Dominum commigravit. Sed et filius ejus Virolicus² credens cum tota domo est baptizatus.

CAPUT XV.

De angelo Domini qui alicui fratri lapso de monasterii culmine rotundi, in Roboreti Campo opportune tam cito subvenerat.

ALIO in tempore, vir sanctus, dum in tuguriolo suo scribens sederet, subito ejus immutatur³ facies, et hanc puro de pectore promit vocem, dicens: Auxiliare, auxiliare. Duo vero fratres

¹ Airchart-dan, now Glen Urquhart, on the west side of Loch Ness. At Templehouse in the entrance of the glen, on a spot now marked by a large ash tree, a church is said to have formerly stood.

² viroleccus, A.

³ immutata, A.

ad januam stantes, videlicet Colgu, filius Cellachi, et Lugneus Mocublai, causam talis subitæ interrogant vocis. Quibus vir venerabilis hoc dedit responsum, inquiens: Angelo Domini, qui nunc inter vos stabat, jussi ut alicui ex fratribus de summo culmine magnæ domus^a lapso tam cito subveniret, quæ his in diebus Roboreti Campo³ fabricatur. Hocque consequenter Sanctus intulit famen, inquiens: Valde admirabilis et pene indicibilis est angelici volatus pernitas, fulguræ, ut æstimo, celeritati parilis. Nam ille cœlicola, qui hinc a nobis nunc, illo viro labi incipiente, avolavit, quasi in ictu oculi, priusquam terram tangeret, subveniens, eum sublevavit; nec ullam fracturam aut læsuram ille qui cecidit sentire potuit. Quam stupenda, inquam, hæc velocissima et opportuna subventio, quæ, dicto citius, tantis maris et terræ interjacentibus spatiis, tam celerrime effici potuit.

CAPUT XVI.

*De angelorum multitudine sanctorum, visa ad Beati condictum
Viri de cœlo descendentium.*

ALIO item in tempore, quadam die, vir beatus, in Iona conversans insula, fratribus congregatis, cum ingenti animadversione, denunciavit, ad eos dicens: Hodie in occidentalem nostræ campulum insulæ solus exire cupio. Nemo itaque ex vobis me sequatur. Quibus obsecundantibus, solus quidem, ut voluit, egreditur. Sed frater quidam, callidus explorator,

^a "Probably," says Dr. Reeves, "the *majoris domus fabrica*, which was erected in Durrow while Laisre, son of Feradhach, presided there." "The present chapter," he also observes, "supplies a most valuable link in the history of the Round Towers; it points to their primary use as monastic abodes, known by the name *Monasterium Rotundum*, and regarded as belonging to a class of building called *magna* or *major domus*, as contradistinguished from the humble cells of the same form; antecedently to the time when *bells*, like other reliques, acquired from age such an amount of veneration as to confer upon the buildings in which they were preserved the name of *Cloc-teach* or Bell-house."

³ Durrow.

alia means via, in cujusdam monticelli cacumine, qui eidem supereminet campulo, se occulte collocat; videlicet illius causam solitariæ beati egressionis viri explorare cupiens. Quem cum idem explorator de monticelli vertice, in quodam illius campuli colliculo stantem, et expansis ad cœlum manibus orantem, oculosque ad cœlum elevantem conspiceret, mirum dictu, et ecce subito res miranda apparuit, quam idem supra memoratus homo, ut æstimo, non sine permissu Dei, de propioris monticelli loco, oculis etiam corporalibus aspexerat, ut nomen Sancti et ejus honorificentia, quamvis ipso nolente, ob hanc manifestatam visionem postea magis in populis divulgaretur. Nam sancti angeli, cœlestis patriæ cives, mira advolantes subitatione, sanctum virum orantem circumstare cœperunt, albatis induti vestibus; et post aliquam cum beato sermocinationem viro, illa cœlestis caterva, quasi se exploratam sentiens, ad summa citius repedavit cœlorum. Beatus et ipse vir, post angelicum conductum, reversus ad monasterium, iterum collectis fratribus, cum quadam non mediocri objurgatione inquit quis de illis esset transgressionis obnoxius. Quibus consequenter se nescisse protestantibus, ille, conscius sui inexcusabilis transgressus, ultra non sustinens delictum celare suum, flexis genibus, in medio fratrum choro, coram Sancto, veniam supplex precatur. Quem Sanctus seorsum ducens, ingeniculanti cum grandi commendat comminatione, ut nulli hominum de illa angelica visione in diebus ejusdem beati viri aliquid etiam parvum occultum aperiret. Post egressum vero de corpore sancti viri illam cœlestis cœtus apparitionem fratribus cum grandi intimavit protestatione. Unde hodieque et locus illius angelici conducti rem in eo gestam suo proprio protestatur vocabulo, qui Latine potest dici Colliculus Angelorum, Scotice vero Cnoc Angel nuncupatur.¹

Hinc itaque animadvertendum est, et non negligenter perscrutandum, quantæ et quales ad beatum virum, in hyemalibus plerumque noctibus, insomnem, et in locis remotioribus,

¹ Cnoc-an-Aingel, but more familiarly known as Sithean Mor or Great Fairy-hill, as distinguished from Sithean Beg, Little Fairy-hill, a short distance to the north-west of it.

aliis quiescentibus, orantem, angelicæ fuerint et suaves frequentationes, quæ nullo modo venire in hominum notitiam potuere. Quæ procul dubio valde numerosæ fuerunt; si etiam quædam ex ipsis quoquo modo ab hominibus, vel in die vel noctu explorari potuerint; quæ absque dubitatione paucae admodum ad earum comparisonem angelicarum frequentationum, quæ videlicet a nemine sciri poterant. Hoc idem similiter et de quibusdam luminosis manifestationibus annotandum, quæ a paucis exploratæ, inferius caraxabuntur.

CAPUT XVII.

De columna luminosa Sancti Viri de vertice ardere visa.

ALIO in tempore, quatuor, ad sanctum visitandum Columbam, monasteriorum sancti fundatores de Scotia transmeantes, in Himba eum invenerunt insula; quorum illustrium vocabula Comgellus¹ Mocu Aridi, Cainnechus Mocu Dalon,² Brendenus Mocu Alti, Cormacus Nepos Lethani. Hi uno eodemque consensu elegerunt ut sanctus Columba coram ipsis in ecclesia

¹ Also written Comgillus, Comgallus, and, in the early Calendars and Annals, Comgall. He was born in Mourne, now Magheramorne, on the coast of Antrim, a little to the south of Larne. His father's name was Setna, and his mother's, Brig. According to Tighernach he was born in 517; founded his church of Bangor in 558; visited Scotland and founded a church in Tiree in 565, and died in 602. His festival is May 10.

² Known also as St. Kenneth, and next to St. Brigida and St. Columba, the favourite Irish saint in Scotland. He was born in 517 at Keenaght, in the county of Londonderry, visited St. Cadoc in Wales, proceeded to Italy, to the "limina apostolorum," returned to Ireland, studied under St. Mobhi along with Kieran, Comgall, and Columba, and with the latter at the school of Clonfert under St. Finnian. From Ireland he then passed to Scotland, where he spent the greater part of his life, and died in 600. His festival both in Ireland and Scotland is October 11. See Reeve's *Adarnan*, p. 28, *n.b.*, p. 121, *n.b.*, and p. 220, *n.c.*; also Forbes' *Kal. Scot.*, SS., under Canicus. A life of him was privately printed by the late Marquis of Ormonde from the Codex Salmanticensis in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, and has recently been reprinted in the *Acta SS. Hib. ex Cod. Sal.*, coll., 361-392.

sacra Eucharistiæ consecraret mysteria. Qui, eorum obsecundans jussioni, simul cum eis, die Dominica ex more, post Evangelii lectionem, ecclesiam ingreditur, ibidemque, dum missarum solemnita celebrarentur, sanctus Brendenus Mocu Alti, sicut post Comgello et Cainnecho intimavit, quendam crinosum igneum globum, et valde luminosum, de vertice sancti Columbæ, ante altare stantis, ad sacram oblationem consecrantis, tamdiu ardentem, ad instar alicujus columnæ sursum ascendentem, vidit, donec eadem perficerentur sacrosancta mysteria.

CAPUT XVIII.

De Spiritus Sancti descensione sive visitatione, quæ in eadem insula tribus continuis diebus, totidemque noctibus, super venerabilem mansit virum.

ALIO in tempore cum sanctus vir in Himba commaneret insula, gratia sancti spiraminis super eum abunde et incomparabiliter effusa, per triduum mirabiliter mansit, ita ut per tres dies totidemque noctes, intra obseratam et repletam cœlesti claritudine domum manens, nullum ad se accedere permetteret, neque manducans neque bibens. De qua videlicet domo, immensæ claritatis radii, per rimulas valvarum, et clavium foramina, erumpentes, noctu visebantur. Carmina quoque quædam spiritalia et ante inaudita decantari ab eo audiebantur. Sed et multa quædam, ut ipse post coram paucis admodum professus est, occulta ab exordio mundi arcana aperte manifestata videbat. Scripturarum quoque sacrarum obscura quæque et difficillima, plana, et luce clarius aperta, mundissimi cordis oculis patebant. Baitheneumque alumnum non adesse querebatur; qui si forte adesset illo in triduo, vel de præteritis vel de futuris deinceps sæculis ab ore viri beati quædam plurima, ab aliis ignorata hominibus, mysteria describeret; aliquantas quoque sacrarum explanationes voluminum. Qui

tamen Baitheneus, in Egea insula, venti contrarietate detentus, usquequo illi trinales illius incomparabilis et honorificæ visitationis dies, et totidem noctes, terminarentur, adesse non potuit.

CAPUT XIX.

De anglicæ lucis claritate, quam Virgno, bonæ indolis juvenis, qui post Deo auctore huic præfuit ecclesiæ, cui ego, indignus licet, deservio, super sanctum Columbam in ecclesiâ,¹ fratribus hyemali nocte in cubiculis quiescentibus, descendere viderat.²

QUADAM hyemali nocte, supra memoratus Virgnous³ in Dei amore fervens, ecclesiam, orationis studio, aliis quiescentibus, solus intrat: ibidemque in quadam exedra, quæ oratorii adhærebat parieti, devotus orabat. Et post aliquantum quasi horæ intervallum unius, vir venerandus Columba eandem sacram ingreditur domum, simulque cum eo aurea lux, de summa cœli altitudine descendens, totum illud ecclesiæ spatium replens. Sed et illius exedriolæ separatum conclave, ubi se Virgnous, in quantum potuit, latitare conabatur, ejusdem cœlestis claritas luminis, per interiorem illius cubiculi januam, quæ ex minori patebat parte, erumpens, non sine aliquo formidabili repleverat terrore. Et sicut nullus æstivum et meridianum solem rectis et irreverberatis potest intueri oculis, sic et illam cœlestem claritudinem ille Virgnous, qui viderat, sustinere nullo poterat modo; quia valde oculorum reverberabat aciem illa luminosa et incomparabilis effusio. Quo fulmini et formidabili splendore viso, in tantum idem supra memoratus frater exterritus erat, ut nulla in eo virtus remaneret. Sanctus vero Columba, post non prolixam orationem, egredi-

¹ That is, of Hy.

² *Title*, B. Cott.

³ Fergna Brit, afterwards fourth Abbot of Hy, 605-623. His name also occurs as Fergnous, Fergnouus, Fernaus, and Fergna. His day in the Calendar is March 2.

tur ecclesiam. Virgnoumque valde timoratum ad se crastina advocat die, hisque brevibus compellat consolatoriis verbis: Bene, O filiule, ingeminans, hac præterita nocte in conspectu Dei placuisti, oculos ad terram deprimendo, claritatis timore perterritus ejus; nam, si non ita fecisses, illa inæstimabili obcæcarentur tui luce visa oculi. Sed hoc non negligenter observare debebis, ut talem hanc lucis manifestationem nemini unquam in mea denudes vita. Hæc itaque prædicabilis et admirabilis res, post beati viri transitum, multis, eodem Virgnouo narrante, innotuit. Cujus scilicet Virgnoui sororis filius Commanus,⁴ honorabilis presbyter, mihi Adamnano de hac supra visione caraxata aliquando, sub testificatione enarraverat. Qui etiam enarratam ab ore ipsius Virgnoui, abbatis, et avunculi sui, ab eo in quantum potuit visam, audierat.

CAPUT XX.

De alia prope simili celsæ claritudinis visione.

ALIA itidem nocte, quidam de fratribus, Colgius nomine, filius Aido Draigniche, de Nepotibus Fechrech,¹ cujus in primo libro fecimus mentionem, casu ad januam ecclesiæ, aliis dormientibus, devenit, ibidemque aliquamdiu stans orabat. Tum proinde subito totam videt ecclesiam cœlesti luce repleti: quæ scilicet fulguralis lux dicto citius ab ejus recessit oculis. Sanctum vero Columbam hora eadem intra ecclesiam orantem ignorabat. Postque talem subitam luminis apparitionem, valde pertimescens, domum revertitur. Postera die Sanctus, illum advocans, asperius objurgavit, inquiens: De cætero præcavere debes, fili, ne, quasi explorator, cœleste lumen, quod tibi non est donatum, inspicere coneris, quia te effugiet, et ne alicui in meis diebus quod vidisti enarres.

⁴ Brother of Cuimene Ailbhe, the seventh Abbot of Hy, 657-669.

¹ fechreg, A.; fecreh, Cott.

CAPUT XXI.

De alia parili divinæ lucis apparitione.

ALIO itidem in tempore, vir beatus cuidam suo sapientiam discenti alumno, nomine Berchano, cujus cognomentum¹ Mesloen,² non mediocriter quadam denunciavit die, inquires : Caveto, fili, ne hac sequenti nocte, juxta tuam semper consuetudinem, ad meum appropinques hospitium. Qui hæc audiens, contra interdictum, ad domum beati viri, in noctis silentio, aliis quiescentibus, accessit, callideque explorans, oculos e regione ad clavium foramina posuit, æstimans scilicet, ut res probavit, aliquam intus cœlestem visionem Sancto manifestari. Nam eadem hora beati viri illud hospitium cœlestis splendore claritudinis erat repletum : quam non sustinens intueri, transgressor juvenis illico aufugit. Quem die crastina, Sanctus seorsum ducens, cum magna severitate objurgans, hæc ad eum profatur verba, dicens : Hac in nocte, fili, coram Deo peccasti, nam tuæ infitalis explorationem calliditatis a Spiritu Sancto celari vel abscondi posse inaniter putasti. Nonne ad mei ostium hospitii te illa in hora appropinquantem et inde redeuntem vidi? Et nisi ego eodem momento pro te orarem, ibidem ante januam, aut cadens morereris, aut tui de suis foraminibus oculi eruerentur. Sed tibi hac vice propter me Dominus pepercit. Et hoc scito, quod in tua Hiberniæ patria luxuriose vivens, exprobrationem facies tua omnibus patietur diebus vitæ tuæ. Hoc tamen a Domino orans impetravi, ut quia noster sis alumnus lacrymosam ante exitum agas pœnitentiam, et a Deo misericordiam consequaris. Quæ omnia, secundum verbum beati viri, ita ei postea contigerunt, sicuti de eo prophetata sunt.

CAPUT XXII.

*De alia angelorum Sancto manifestata Viro apparitione, quos*¹ A. Cott. cognomento, B.² A. Cott. molloen, B. mesloer, Colg. Boll.

sanctæ ejus animæ obviare incipientes, quasi mox de corpore viderat migraturæ.

ALIO in tempore,¹ dum vir beatus in Iona commaneret insula, quadam die sancta facies ejus subita mirifica et lætifica hilaritate effloruit, oculosque ad cœlum elevans incomparabili repletus gaudio, valde lætificabatur. Tum post modicum alicujus momentiole intervallum, illa sapida et suavis lætificatio in mæstam convertitur tristificationem. Duo vero viri, qui eadem hora ejus tugurioli ad januam stabant, quod in eminentiore loco erat fabricatum, et ipsi cum eo valde tristificati, quorum unus Lugneus erat² Mocublai, alter vero Pilu nuncupabatur, Saxo, causam ipsius subitæ lætitiæ³ inquirunt, et illius subsequenti mæstitiæ. Ad quos Sanctus sic profatur: Ite in pace, nec illius lætitiæ causam, nec etiam tristificationis a me nunc inquiratis manifestari. Quo audito, illacrymati, ingenuculantes, prostratis in terra vultibus, suppliciter rogant, scire volentes aliquid de illa re quæ hora eadem Sancto erat revelata. Quos valde tristificatos videns: Quia vos, ait, amo, tristificari nolo. Promittere prius debetis ne ulli hominum sacramentum quod inquiritis in vita mea prodatis. Qui continuo, secundum ejus commendationem, prompte promiserunt. Et post talem promissionem vir venerandus sic ad eos proloquitur: Usque in hunc, inquiens, præsentem diem, meæ in Britannia peregrinationis terdeni completi sunt anni. Interea multis ante diebus a Domino meo devote postulavi, ut in fine tricesimi hujus præsentis anni me de meo obsolveret incolatu, et ad cœlestem patriam illico advocaret. Et hæc fuit mei causa lætitiæ,⁴ de qua vos me mæsti interrogatis. Angelos enim sanctos de excelso vidi missos throno ad meam de carne animam obvios educendam. Sed ecce nunc, subito retardati, ultra nostræ fretum insulæ stant in rupe, scilicet volentes ad me de corpore advocandum appropriare. Sed propius accedere non permittuntur, mox ad cœlorum summa repedaturi; quia Dominus quod

¹ In 593, thirty years after St. Columba's settlement in Iona, and four years before his death.

² A. om. B. Cott.

³ lætationis, A.

mihi totis viribus roganti donavit, ut hac in die ad ipsum de mundo transirem, multarum magis ecclesiarum pro me orationes exaudiens, dicto citius immutavit. Quibus scilicet ecclesiis exorantibus sic a Domino donatum est, ut, quamlibet contra meam voluntatem, quatuor ab hac die mihi in carne manenti superaddantur anni. Hæc talis mihi mæsta retardatio hodiernæ tristificationes non immerito causa suit. Quibus videlicet quatuor futuris, Deo propitio, terminatis in hac vita annis, subita emigratione, nulla præcedente corporis molestia, cum sanctis mihi obviaturis illo in tempore angelis, ad Dominum lætus emigrabo. Secundum hæc verba, vir venerabilis, quæ non sine magno gemitu et mærore, ut traditur, necnon et ingenti lacrymabilitate, prolocutus est, quatuor postea annis in carne mansit.

CAPUT XXIII.

De transitu ad Dominum sancti 'ac venerabilis, Deo dilecti,
Patroni nostri Columbæ.*

§ 1. *Columba mortis suæ horam prædicit.*

ANNORUM supra quatuor memoratorum termino jam appropinquante, post quorum completionem, finem præsentis vitæ veridicus præsagator sibi futurum fore multo ante præsciebat tempore, quadam die, mense Maio, sicut in priore secundo scripsimus libro, ad visitandos operarios fratres senex senio fessus, plaustro vectus, pergit. Ad quos, in occidua insulæ Ionæ laborantes parte, sic ea die exorsus est loqui, dicens: In Paschali solemnitate nuper Aprili peracta mense, desiderio desideravi ad Christum Dominum, sicut et mihi ab eo concessum erat, si maluissem, emigrare. Sed ne vobis lætitiæ festivitatis in tristitiam verteretur, diem meæ de mundo emigrationis paulo diutius protelari malui. His ab eo mæstis monachi familiares auditis interim dictis valde tristificati sunt. Quos in quantum poterat verbis cœpit consolatoriis lætificare. Qui-

bus finitis, ut erat in vehiculo sedens, ad orientem suam convertens faciem, insulam cum insulanis benedixit habitatoribus; ex qua die, ut in supra memorato caraxatum est libello, viperarum venena trisulcarum linguarum usque in hodiernum diem, nullo modo aut homini aut pecori nocere potuere. Post ejusdem benedictionis verba Sanctus ad suum revehitur monasterium.

Tunc proinde, paucis diebus transactis, dum missarum solemnias, ex more, Dominica celebrarentur die, subito, sursum elevatis oculis, facies venerabilis viri florido respersa rubore videtur: quia, sicut scriptum est: Corde lætante vultus floret. Eadem namque hora angelum Domini supra volitantem solus vidit intra ipsius oratorii parietes: et quia sanctorum angelorum amabilis et tranquillius aspectus gaudium et exultationem electorum pectoribus infundit, hæc fuit illius subitæ causæ lætitiæ beato infusa viro. De qua scilicet causâ inspiratæ lætitiæ, cum qui inerant ibidem præsentibus inquirerent, hoc eis Sanctus responsum, sursum respiciens, dedit: Mira et incomparabilis angelicæ subtilitas naturæ. Ecce enim angelus Domini, ad repetendum aliquod Deo carum missus depositum, nos desuper intra ecclesiam aspiciens et benedicens, rursum per parastichiam ecclesiæ reversus, nulla talis vestigia exitus reliquit. Hæc Sanctus. Sed tamen de qualitate illius depositi ad quod missus est angelus requirendum nemo de circumstantibus cognoscere potuit. Noster vero patronus sanctum, propriam a Deo sibi commendatam animam, depositum nuncupavit. Quæ, sicuti inferius narrabitur, alia, senis intervenientibus continuis diebus, Dominica nocte ad Dominum emigravit.

§ 2. *Sanctus Columba tempus suæ mortis ministro suo Diormitio revelat: equus mortem Sancti futuram deflet.*

VIR itaque venerabilis in fine ejusdem hebdomadis, hoc est, die sabbati,³ ipse et pius minister Diormitius ad proximum pergunt benedicendum horreum. Quod intrans Sanctus cum benedixisset, et duos in eo frugum sequestratos acervos, hoc

³ "Our Saturday. The practice of calling the *Lord's Day* the *Sabbath* commenced about a thousand years after this date." Reeves.

intulit verbum cum gratiarum actione, inquiens: **Valde congratulor** meis familiaribus monachis, quia hoc etiam anno, si quoquam a vobis emigrare me oportuerit, annum sufficientem habebitis panem. Quo audito verbo Diormitius minister tristificari cœpit, et sic dicere: Hujus anni tempore, pater, sæpius nos contristas, quia de tuo transitu crebro commemoras. Cui Sanctus hoc dedit responsum: Aliquem arcanum habeo sermusculum, quem, si mihi firmiter promiseris, nemini ante meum denudare obitum, de meo tibi egressu aliquid manifestius intimare potero. Quam cum talem minister promissionem, juxta voluntatem Sancti, flexis genibus, terminasset, vir venerandus consequenter sic profatur: Hæc in sacris voluminibus dies sabbatum nuncupatur, quod interpretatur, requies. Et mihi vere est sabbatum hæc hodierna, quia hujus præsentis laboriosæ vitæ mihi ultima est, in qua post meas laborationum molestias sabbatizo; et hac sequenti media venerabili Dominica nocte,⁴ secundum eloquia Scripturarum, patrum gradiar viam. Ita enim Dominus meus Jesus Christus me invitare dignatur; ad quem, inquam, hac mediante nocte, ipso me invitante, emigrabo. Sic enim mihi ab ipso Domino revelatum est. Hæc mæsta minister audiens verba, cœpit amare flere. Quem Sanctus in quantum potuit consolari conabatur.

Post hæc Sanctus horreum egreditur, et ad monasterium revertens, media residet via, in quo loco postea crux, molari infixæ lapidis⁵ hodieque stans, in margine cernitur viæ. Dumque ibidem Sanctus, ut præfatus sum, senio fessus, paululum sedens, requiesceret, ecce albus occurrit caballus, obediens servitor, qui scilicet lactaria bocetum⁶ inter et monasterium vascula gestare consueverat. Hic ad Sanctum accedens, mirum dictu, caput in sinu ejus ponens, ut credo inspirante Deo, cui omne animal brutum⁷ sapit sensu quo jusserit ipse Creator, dominum a se suum mox emigraturum, et ipsum ultra non visurum sciens, cœpit plangere, ubertimque, quasi homo, lacrymas in gremium

⁴ That is, the night preceding Sunday.

⁵ According to C. Innes *in a quern*, but according to Dr. Reeves more probably a millstone of larger dimensions.

⁶ A byre or cowhouse.

⁷ rerum, A.

Sancti fundere, et valde spumans flere. Quod videns minister, cœpit illum flebilem repellere lamentatorem. Sed Sanctus prohibuit eum, dicens: Sine hunc, sine nostri amatorem, ut in hunc meum sinum fletus effundat amarissimi plangoris. Ecce tu, homo cum sis, et rationalem animam habeas, nullo modo scire de meo exitu potuisti, nisi quod tibi ego ipse nuper manifestavi. Huic vero bruto et irrationali animanti, quoque modo ut ipse Conditor voluit, egressurum a se dominum manifeste revelavit. Et hæc dicens, mæstum a se revertentem equum benedixit ministratorem.

Et inde egrediens, et monticellum monasterio supereminentem ascendens, in vertice ejus paululum stetit, et stans, ambas elevans palmas, suum benedixit cœnobium, inquiens: Huic loco, quamlibet angusto, et vili, non tantum Scotorum reges, cum populis, sed etiam barbararum⁸ et exterarum gentium regnatores, cum plebibus sibi subjectis, grandem et non mediocrem conferent honorem: a sanctis quoque etiam aliarum ecclesiarum non mediocris veneratio conferetur.

§ 3. *Quomodo Sanctus Columba hora mortis instante mysticam Psalmi divisionem fecit: et Monachos ad mutuam charitatem hortatur.*

POST hæc verba, de illo descendens monticellulo, et ad monasterium revertens, sedebat in tugurio Psalterium scribens; et ad illum tricesimi tertii Psalmi versiculum perveniens, ubi scribitur, Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono: Hic, ait, in fine cessandum est paginæ; quæ vero sequuntur Baitheneus scribat. Sancto convenienter congruit decessori novissimus versiculus, quem scripserat, cui nunquam bona deficient æterna; successori vero sequens patri, spiritalium doctori filiorum, Venite, fili, audite me, timorem Domini docebo vos, congruenter convenit; qui, sicut decessor commendavit, non solum ei docendo, sed etiam scribendo, successit.

Post talem superius memoratum terminatæ versum perscriptum paginæ, Sanctus ad vespertinalem Dominicæ noctis

⁸ A, *em.* B. Cott.

officium ingreditur ecclesiam; quo continuo consummato, ad hospitium revertens, in lectulo residet pernox; ubi pro stramine nudam habebat petram, et pro pulvillo lapidem, qui hodieque quasi quidam juxta sepulcrum ejus titulus stat monumenti. Ibidem itaque residens, ultima ad fratres mandata, solo audiente ministro, commendat, inquires: Hæc vobis, O filii, novissima commendo verba, ut inter vos mutuam et non fictam habeatis charitatem, cum pace: et si ita, juxta sanctorum exempla patrum, observaveritis, Deus, confortator bonorum, vobis auxiliabitur, et ego, cum ipso manens, pro vobis interpellabo; et non tantum præsentis vitæ necessaria ab eo sufficienter administrabuntur, sed etiam æternalium bonorum præmia, divinorum observatoribus mandatorum⁹ præparata, tribuentur. Hucusque extrema venerabilis patroni verba, quasi de hac tædiali peregrinatione ad cœlestem patriam transmeantis, brevi textu narrata deducta sunt.

§ 4. *De morte et sepultura Sancti Columbæ.*

POST quæ felici appropinquante novissima paulisper hora, Sanctus conticuit. Tum proinde media nocte pulsata personante clocca, festinus surgens, ad ecclesiam pergit, citiorque cæteris currens, solus introgressus juxta altare flexis in oratione genibus recumbit. Diormitius minister, tardius prosecutus, eodem momento eminus totam intrinsecus ecclesiam angelica luce erga Sanctum repleti videt: quo ad januam appropinquante, eadem lux visa ocius recessit: quam etiam alii de fratribus pauci, et ipsi eminus astantes, viderant. Diormitius ergo, ecclesiam ingrediens, flebili ingeminat voce: Ubi es, Pater? Et necdum allatis fratrum lucernis, per tenebras palpans, Sanctum ante altarium recubantem invenit: quem paululum erigens, et juxta sedens, sanctum in suo gremio posuit caput. Et inter hæc cœtus monachorum cum luminaribus accurrens, patre viso moriente, cœpit plangere. Et, ut ab aliquibus qui præsentibus inerant didicimus,¹⁰ Sanctus, necdum

⁹ B. Cott. *om.* A.

¹⁰ St. Columba died in 597; St. Adamnan was born in 624; so that the information could easily be obtained from eyewitnesses.

egrediente anima, apertis sursum oculis, ad utrumque latus cum mira vultus hilaritate et lætitia circumspiciebat; sanctos scilicet obvios intuens angelos. Diormitius tum sanctam sublevat ad benedicendum Sancti monachorum chorum dexteram manum. Sed et ipse venerabilis pater, in quantum poterat, simul suam movebat manum, ut videlicet quod voce in egressu non valebat animæ, etiam motu manus fratres videretur benedicere. Et post sanctam benedictionem taliter significatam, continuo spiritum exhalavit. Quo tabernaculum corporis egresso, facies rubens, et mirum in modum angelica visione exhilarata, in tantum remansit, ut non quasi mortui, sed dormientis videretur viventis. Tota interim personabat mæstis plangoribus ecclesia.

Sed non prætereundum videtur quod eadam hora beatæ transitus animæ, cuidam Hiberniensi Sancto revelatum est. In illo namque monasterio quod Scotica nominatur¹ lingua Clonifinchoil,² quidam homo erat sanctus, senex Christi miles, qui Lugudius vocitabatur, filius Talcani,³ justus et sapiens. Hic itaque primo mane cuidam æque Christiano militi, Fergnouo⁴ nomine, suam enarravit visionem, cum ingenti gemitu, dicens: Hac præterita nocte media sanctus Columba, multarum columnarum ecclesiarum, ad Dominum transiit, et in hora beati exitus ejus Ionam insulam, ad quam corpore nunquam perveni, totam angelorum claritudine in spiritu vidi irradiatam, totaque spatia aeris usque ad æthera cœlorum, eorundem angelorum claritate illustrata; qui ad sanctam ipsius animam perferendam, de cœlis missi, descenderunt innumeri. Altisona quoque carminalia, et valde suavia audivi angelicorum cœtuum cantica eodem momento egressionis inter angelicos sanctæ ipsius animæ ascendentes choros. Hanc angelicam manifestationem Virgnous, ut prædictum est, qui ab ore sancti illius senis cui revelata erat, indubitanter didicerat,

¹ A. scotia nuncupatur, B. Cott.

² Meadow of the White-hazel.

³ tailchani, A.

⁴ Not Fergna Brit, the fourth Abbot of Hy, but another.

iisdem diebus de Scotia remigans, Himba in insula reliquis diebus vitæ suæ permanens, sancti Columbæ monachis sæpius enarrabat. Qui videlicet Virgnous, post multos in subjectione inter fratres irreprehensibiliter expletos annos, alios duodecim in loco anachoretarum in Muirbulcmar, vitam ducens anachoreticam, Christi victor miles, explevit. Hanc prædictam visionem, non solum paginis inscriptam reperimus, sed et ab aliquibus expertis senioribus, quibus ipse Virgnous retulerat, sine ullo didicimus cunctamine.

Eadem quoque hora aliam visionem, aliter revelatam, unus ex eis qui viderant, Christi miles, valde senex, cujus nomen Latine etiam potest dici Ferreolus, Scotice vero Arrene, gente Mocufirroiue, qui inter aliorum sancti Columbæ monachorum reliquas, et ipse sanctus monachus in Dorso Tomæ sepultus cum sanctis resurrectionem expectat, mihi Adamnano, illo juveni in tempore, cum grandi retulerat testificatione, dicens: Illa in nocte qua sanctus Columba de terra ad cœlos felici et beato fine transiit, ego et alii mecum viri laborantes in captura piscium in valle piscosi fluminis Fendæ, subito totum aerei illustratum cœli spatium vidimus. Cujus miraculi subitatione permoti, oculos ad orientem elevatos convertimus, et ecce, quasi quædam pergrandis ignea apparuit columna, quæ in illa nocte media sursum ascendens ita nobis videbatur mundum illustrare totum, sicuti æsteus et meridianus sol, et postquam illa penetravit columna cœlum, quasi post occasum solis, tenebræ succedunt. Hujus itaque claritudinem luminosæ et prædicabilis columnæ, non tantum nos, qui simul in eodem loco ineramus, cum ingenti admiratione vidimus, sed et alii multi piscatores, qui sparsim per diversas fluminales piscinas ejusdem fluminis piscabantur, sicut nobis post retulerant, simili apparitione visa, magno pavore sunt perculsi. Harum igitur trium miracula visionum eadem transitus hora venerandi apparentium patroni, æternos ei a Deo collatos protestantur honores. Ad propositum revertamur.

Interea post sanctæ egressum animæ, hymnis matutinalibus terminatis, sacrum corpus de ecclesia ad hospitium, unde paulo ante vivens venerat, cum canora fratrum reportatur psalmodia, honesteque ternis diebus et totidem noctibus honorabiles rite

expleantur exequiæ.⁵ Quibus in Dei sapidis laudibus terminatis, sancti et beati patroni venerabile corpus, mundis involutum sindonibus, et præparata positum in ratabusta,⁶ debita humatur cum veneratione, in luminosa et æternali resurrecturum claritudine.

De supra memoratis ergo tribus illis exequiarum diebus more peractis ecclesiastico, quod nobis ab expertis traditum est, hujus prope finem enarrabitur libri. Quidam namque aliquando unus de fratribus coram venerabili viro simpliciter loquens: Ad celebrandas, ait ad Sanctum, tuas, post tuum obitum exequias, ut putatur, totus harum provinciarum populus hanc Ionam remigans replebit insulam. Quod verbum audiens Sanctus consequenter ait: O mi filiole, non ut loqueris sic res probabit, nam promiscuum populi vulgus nullo modo ad meas poterit exequias venire; mei soli familiares monachi mea sepulcralia complebunt, et exequialia honestabunt officia. Quod verbum ejus propheticum, statim post transitum ipsius, omnipotentia Dei adimpleri fecit. Nam per tres illas exequiales dies et noctes, grandis sine pluvia facta est ventosa tempestas, qua fortiter prohibente, nullus hinc inde navicella vectus transfretare poterat. Et post consummatam beati sepultionem viri continuo tempestate sedata, et cessante vento, totum tranquillatum est æquor.

Perpendat itaque lector quanti et qualis apud Deum prædicabilis patronus honoris habeatur, cui aliquando in carne mortali conversanti Deo dignante, oranti, tempestates sedatæ sunt, et maria tranquillata; et rursus, quando necesse habuit, supra memorata occasione, orta flamina ventorum, et ventosa, cum voluit, concita sunt æquora, quæ subsequenter, ut superius dictum est, expletis ejus sepulturæ ministeriis, in magnam conversa sunt tranquillitatem.

Hic itaque nostro prædicabili patrono vitæ terminus fuit, ista meritorum exordia; qui, secundum sententias Scripturarum, æternis comes triumphis, Patribus additus, Apostolis et Prophetis

⁵ St. Patrick's are said to have lasted twelve days, and St. Senan's eight. Seven days was the pagan number.

⁶ Probably a coffin.

consertus, numero aggregatus albatorum millium Agnino in sanguine suas Sanctorum qui laverunt stolas, Agnum ductorem comitatur, Virgo immaculatus, ab omni integer labe, ipso Domino nostro Jesu Christo dignante: cui est cum Patre honor, virtus, laus et gloria, et imperium sempiternum in unitate Spiritus Sancti, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

EPILOGUS.

Post horum trinalium lectionem libellorum, quisque diligens annotet lector quanti et qualis meriti sanctus sæpe supra memoratus præsul venerandus, quantæ et qualis apud Deum honorificentia fuerit æstimatus, quantæ et quales angelicæ ad ipsum, et luminosæ frequentationes, fuerint; quanta in eo prophetalis gratia, quanta dialium efficientia virtutum; quanta et quam frequens eum divini luminis claritudo in carne mortali adhuc commorantem circumfulserit; quæ, etiam post egressum animæ de tabernaculo corporis sanctissimæ, sicuti quibusdam electis ostensum habetur compertum, locum in quo ipsius sancta pausant ossa usque hodie eadem cœlestis claritas frequentare non cessat, et sanctorum frequens visitatio angelorum. Et hæc etiam eidem beatæ memoriæ viro a Deo non mediocris est collata gratia, qua nomen ejus non tantum per totam nostram Scotiam, et omnium totius orbis insularum maximam Britanniam, clare divulgari promeruit, in hac parva et extrema oceani Britannici commoratus insula; sed etiam ad trigonam usque Hispaniam, et Gallias, et ultra Alpes Peninas Italiam sitam pervenire, ipsam quoque Romanam civitatem, quæ caput est omnium civitatum. Tantus et talis honor noscibilis⁷ eidem Sancto, inter cætera divinæ donationis munera, condonatus scitur a Deo, qui se diligentes amat, et eos qui eum magnificant laudibus magis ac magis glorificans, immensis sublimat honoribus, qui est benedictus in sæcula. Amen.

Obsecro eos quicunque voluerint hos describere libellos, immo potius adjuro per Christum, judicem sæculorum, ut postquam diligenter descripserint, conferant, et emendent, cum omni

⁷ A. uocibilis, B. Cott.

diligentia, ad exemplar unde caraxerunt, et hanc quoque adjurationem hoc in loco subscribant.⁸

Hæc sunt duodecim virorum nomina qui cum sancto Columba de Scotia, primo ejus transitu ad Britanniam, transnavigaverunt : Duo filii Brenden, Baithene, qui et Conin, sancti successor Columbæ ; et Cobthach, frater ejus ; Ernaan, sancti avunculus Columbæ ; Diormitius, ejus ministrator ; Rus, et Fechno, duo filii Rodain ; Scandal, filius Bresail, filii Endei filii Neil ; Luguid Mocuthemne ; Echoid ; Tochannu Mocufir-cetea ; Cairnaan, filius Branduib filii Meilgi ; Grillaan.

Sancti Columbæ parentes : Aedelmith, pater ejus, filius Ferguso ; Eithne, mater ipsius, filia filii Navis.

Iogen, germanus frater Columbæ junior. Item, tres germanæ sorores ejus : Cuimne, mater filiorum Meic Decuil, qui nominantur Mernooc, et Cascene, et Meldal, et Bran qui sepultus est in Dairu Calchaich, consobrini sancti Columbæ ; Mincholeth, mater filiorum Enain, quorum unus Calmaan dicebatur ; Sinech mater virorum Mocucei in Cuile-aque, quorum nomina sunt Aidanus monachus, qui sepultus est hi Cuil-uisci, et Chonrii Moccucein, qui sepultus in Daurmaig ; avia Tocummi Moccucein, qui valde senio fessus, presbiter sanctus, in Iona insula, præsentem finivit vitam.

Explicit Vita Columbæ.

⁸ Quicunque hos virtutum libellos Columbæ legerit, pro me Dorbbeneo Dominum deprecetur, ut vitam post mortem æternam possideam, *add. A. om. B. Cott.*

OFFICIUM SANCTI COLUMBÆ ABBATIS.*

Ad Primas Vesperas.

Antiphona. Adest dies lætitiæ, cum reliquis de Laudibus. *Psalmus.* Dixit Dominus, cum reliquis de Dominica, et loco ultimi Psalmi, Laudate Dominum omnes gentes. *Capitulum.* Beatus vir, qui inventus est sine macula, et qui post aurum non abiit, nec speravit in pecuniæ thesauris : quis est hic et laudabimus eum ? fecit enim mirabilia in vita sua.

Hymnus. Columba penna nivea, collo resplendens rosso,
Loca petit sydereæ, claustro mundi luteo.
Hic nidum sibi posuit, in petra poenitentiae,
Devotos Christo genuit pullos per verbum gratiæ
Pro dulci cantu, querulis intendebat gemitibus.
Crebros adjungens sedulis fletus orationibus.
Sit Deo soli gloria, qui nos post cursus stadia,
Columbæ per suffragia, ducat ad coeli gaudia. Amen.

Vers. Amavit eum Dominus et ornavit eum.

Resp. Stolum gloriæ induit eum.

Ad Magnificat. *Antiphona.* Columba cultor Ecclesiæ, virgo, Doctor per donum gratiæ, jam securus in statu gratiæ, salva tuæ exultantes gloriæ.

Oratio. Deus qui Beatum Columbam Confessorem tuum, atque Abbatem, sanitatum gratia decorasti, ejus meritis et intercessionibus, fac nos bonis operibus abundare, ut a te summo bono omne, quod expedit, valeamus impetrare. Per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, etc.

Ad Matutinum Invitatorium.

Columbæ solemnia colit plebs fidelis, pax in terra, gloria Deo sit in coelis.

Psalmus. Venite exultemus. *Hymnus.* Columba penna nivea, etc., ut in Vesperis.

In Primo Nocturno.

Antiphona. Fœlix tellus edidit salutare lignum Columbam, qui reddit fructum Deo dignum. *Psalmus.* Beatus vir. *Antiphona.* In timore Domino studuit inservire, præcavens in termino diem gravis iræ. *Psalmus.* Quare fremuerunt ? *Antiphona.* Columbam cum gemeret, per Angelos invisit, et quicquid peteret, daturum se promisit. *Psalmus.* Domine quid multiplicati. *Vers.* Amavit eum Dominus et ornavit eum. *Resp.* Stolum gloriæ induit eum. *Pater Noster.* Exaudi Domine benedictione perpetua. *Lectiones primi Nocturni. De Libro Sapientiæ. Cap. 4.* Justus si morte præoccupatus fuerit. *Resp. i.* Fœlix Hibernia Columbam genuit qui de prosapia regali claruit : sed morum gratia magis emicuit. *Vers.* A pueritia

* Reprinted by Colgan in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 454-456, from Messingham's *Officia Sanctorum Hiberniæ*. Paris, 1620.

Deo se præbuit : carnis munditia mentisque floruit. Sed morum gratia. *Resp. ii.* Illi datum primitus nomen est vulpinum, sed mutatum est in Columbinum : Comprobavit exitus. *Resp. iii.* De Columba Dominus Angelo mandavit qui in visionibus ipsum confortavit : Cujus fultus viribus draconem calcavit. *Vers.* Axal dictus Angelus Sanctum roboravit, illius obsequiis ipsum se monstravit. Cujus fultus viribus. Gloria Patri. Cujus fultus viribus.

In Secundo Nocturno.

Antiphona. Delectatur varia tribulatione, velut auri gloria crebra tunsione. *Psalmus.* Cum invocarem. *Antiphona.* Mane domum Domini Sanctus introivit, et coelesti numini devote servivit. *Psal.* Verba mea auribus percipe. *Antiphona.* Columbam per Angelum Deus visitavit minoratum paululum coelo coronavit. *Palm.* Domine Dominus noster. *Vers.* Os justi meditabitur sapientiam. *Resp.* Et lingua ejus loquetur judicium. *Pater Noster.* Ipsius pietas. Deus Pater Omnipotens.

Lect. IV. Egregius ac venerabilis vir Columba, regia ortus erat prosapia : ab infantia sua divinitus servatus, nec solum originis carnalis ; sed morum nobilitatem continet nomen ejus : quod divina inspiratione ei impositum erat. A parentibus etenim suis primitus Cremthann appellatus est ; quod a nostro eloquio vulpes transfertur. Sed divina dispositio inspiciens vocabulum istud morum ejusdem pueri qualitati non congruere, quorundam infantium turbæ cum eodem puero jocundantium inspiravit, ut præfatum nomen Cremthann, quod secundum interpretationem fallaci, et versuto homini competit, immutarent et Columbam quod sanctis moribus ejusdem, aptum videbatur, imponerent. *Resp.* Tria dantur Sancto insignia, Virginalis pudoris gloria, prædicandæ salutis gratia, visitandi loca distantia. *Vers.* Magni Pauli sequens vestigia plura terræ lustravit spatia. Visitandi loca distantia.

Lect. V. In actibus ejus, et sermonibus nulla otiositas inerat, præcavens evangelicum præceptum, quo dicitur : De omni verbo otioso quod loquuti fuerint homines, reddent rationem in die judicii. Quoniam autem in vigiliis, in jejuniis sine cessatione incumbenti fratres miserabantur, dicentes, plus laboras, quam Deus præceperat ; aiebat illis dicens : Regnum Dei vim patitur, et violenti rapiunt illud. Et iterum : Nemo dormiens coronabitur, nemo securus possidet regna coelorum. Psalmographo etiam protestante : Filia Babylonis misera, beatus qui retribuit tibi retributionem tuam, quam tu retribuisti nobis. Quam filiam miseram hic propheta commemoravit ? Nempe humanam carnem : quam quoque retributionem nobis retribuit, nisi vitia quæ necant animas ? Primus enim parens noster Adam, per gulam et superbiam, vanamque gloriam, de paradiso est repulsus : et in eundem paradysum aliter introire, non potest aliquis, nisi per summam abstinenciam, humilitatem et mundi hujus despectionem. *Resp.* Columba moribus mitis, et humilis, pius egentibus, et cunctis amabilis, antiquis Patribus est comparabilis. *Vers.* Sacris virginibus, piis Doctoribus, peregrinantibus extitit similis antiquis Patribus.

Lect. VI. Sic ergo vir venerabilis Columba, dictis his et similibus, ora fratrum miserentium ejus, oppilabat. Esurientes autem bonis alebat cæcis ; doctrina scilicet spiritali, et corporabilibus cibis. Sitientes potibus refocillabat, veste propria nudos tegebat, hospites et pauperes benignus suscipiebat ; infirmos et carceratos

bino solemine, confortationis nimirum celestis, et temporalis alimenti refocillabat. Finis vero vitæ felicissimus fuerat : in quinta enim feriarum, post missarum solemniam, et prolixum jejunium a prima feriarum usque ad quintam corpus et sanguinem Domini salvatoris suscepit, et ante basem altaris processit in faciem, *alleluia* ter cantando, vitam finivit temporalem, et ad æternam translatus est gloriam. *Resp.* Corpus edomuit crebris laboribus, in maris jacuit nudis littoribus : more Iacob pro cervicalibus reclinavit caput lapidibus. *Vers.* Noctes sic dedicans devotis precibus, et dies explicans piis operibus. Reclinavit caput. Gloria Patri. Reclinavit caput.

In Tertio Nocturno.

Antiphona. Vivens sine macula carnis, Sanctus iste intrat tabernacula tecum Christe. *Psalmus.* Domine quis habitabit. *Antiphona.* Cordis desiderium Dominum illi dedit : cuius per auxilium gloriam possedit. *Psalmus.* Domine in virtute tua. *Antiphona.* Manibus innocuum, corde purum servum levat securum Rex in suum regnum. *Psalmus.* Domini est terra. *Vers.* Lex Dei ejus in corde ipsius. *Resp.* Et non supplantabuntur gressus ejus.

Lectio Sancti Evangelii Secundum Lucam, cap. 12. In illo tempore, dixit Iesus discipulis suis ; sint lumbi vestri præcincti etc. *Homilia Sancti Gregorii Papæ.* Sancti Evangelii fratres charissimi aperta est vobis lectio recitata. *Et reliqua ut in communi confessoris non Pontificis.* *Resp. vii.* Magnorum vestigia frequenter conspexit, in ferni janua mortuos erexit. Tranquillavit maria, futura prospexit. *Vers.* Multorum Cœnobium monachorum rexit, oppressis angustia dextram porrexit. Tranquillavit maria. *Resp. viij.* Ignis combusserat quoddam coenaculum, et nullum senserat postis periculum in quo pependerat lætale pallium : Cui Columba benedixerat. *Vers.* Juxta primarium Christi miraculum, aqua vinarium propinat poculum, quam pro Sancto Deus mutaverat. Gloria Patri et Filio. Cui Columba. Te Deum laudamus.

Ad Laudes.

Antiphona. Adest dies lætitiæ in quo Columba, Domini thronum ascendit, celesti junctus agmini. *Psalmus.* Dominus regnavit. *Antiphona.* Ramum signum clementiæ Columba portavit dum Sanctus hic Hiberniæ genti prædicavit. *Psalmus.* Deus, Deus meus. *Antiphona.* Ostendunt veraciter in terra mors et tumba quia vixit sinceriter vir Sanctus Columba. *Psalmus.* Benedicite omnia opera. *Antiphona.* Vitæ sine macula mors quam pretiosa : crebra per miracula tumba radiosa. *Psalmus.* Laudate Dominum de cœlis. *Capitulum.* Beatus vir qui inventus est sine macula.

Hymnus.

Iesus Redemptor omnium, servos benignos respice,
Per Columbæ suffragia, mites et castos effice.
Hic pietatis moribus, refulsit in Ecclesia.
Columbinis operibus, cum summa pudicitia,
Vitæ horrens mollitiem, peccati pro diluvio,
Quæsit sibi requiem, in arcis sacræ solio.

Antiphona. Felle carens, et simplicem habens mentis intuitum, fraudem cavit multiplicem, super aquarum transitum Mundum calcans sub pedibus, suspirat ad cœlestia, sacris plenus operibus, lætus gaudet in patria. Sit soli Deo, etc., *ut supra.*

Versus. Justum deduxit Dominus per vias rectas. *Resp.* Et ostendit illi regnum Dei.

Ad Benedictus.

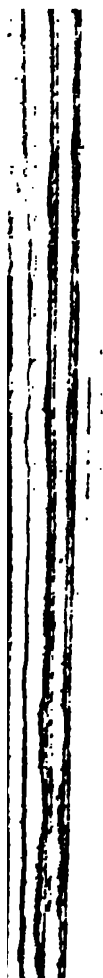
Antiphona. O Columba qui verbo gloriæ, illustrasti partes Hiberniæ, quibus monstras viam justitiæ, nos divinæ commenda gratiæ. *Psalmus.* Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel. *Oratio.* Deus qui Beatum Columbam etc. *Ad primam Antiphona.* Adest dies lætitiæ. *Psalmi consueti.* *Capitulum Nonæ.* Justum deduxit. *Ad Tertiam.* *Antiphona.* Mundi carens vitio. *Psalmi consueti.* *Capitul.* Beatus vir. *Oratio.* Deus qui Beatum. *Ad Sextam.* *Antiph.* Ramum signum clementiæ. *Psalmi consueti.* *Cap.* Justus cor suum. *Oratio.* Deus qui Beatum: *Ad Nonam.* *Antiphona.* Vitæ suæ macula. *Psalmi consueti.* *Cap.* Justum deduxit Dominus. *Oratio.* Deus qui Beatum Columbam.

Ad Secundas Vesperas.

Antiphonæ, Psalmi, Capitulum, & Hymnus, ut in Primis Vesperis. *Vers.* Justum deduxit Dominus in vias rectas. *Resp.* Et ostendit illi regnum Dei. *Antiphona.* *Ad Magnificat.* Columba pacis speculum et puritatis vasculum forma Sanctitatis, tuæ nobis rivulum funde charitatis, poscens post hoc sæculum vitam cum beatis. *Psalmus.* Magnificat anima mea Dominum. *Oratio.* Deus qui Beatum Columbam.



OFFICIUM MACHARII.



OFFICIUM MACHARII.*

In solemnitate sancti Mauricii sive Macharii confessoris et pontificis, in ecclesia Aberdonense duplex principale.

I. Ad Primas Vesperas.

Antiph. Ex regali germine puer erat natus
Et a patre primitus Mocumma vocatus.

Ps. Laudate pueri (cxii.).

Ant. Ejus pueritia cunctis erat grata,
Et claris virtutibus juvenus ornata.

Ps. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes (cxvi.).

Ant. Sic Columbam studuit sanctus imitari,
Ut hunc vulgus undique cepit venerari.

Ps. Lauda anima (cxlv.).

Ant. Ne sanctum extolleret fama sanctitatis,
Parentes et patriam clam fugit et gratia.

Ps. Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus (clxvi.).

Ant. Ad Ionam insulam post se conferebat,
Ubi Deo pluribus annis serviebat.

Ps. Lauda Hierusalem (cxlvii.).

*Sed ubi ecclesia de eo non est dedicata, dicatur tunc una Antiphona de predictis
super psalmos feriales.*

Capitulum. Ecce sacerdos, etc.

Resp. Trina Christus in pueritia
Per Mocummam fecit miracula :
Ignis, aer, mortis et vincula,
Innocenti dabant obsequia.

Versus. Tota sanctum perfudit gratia,
Dei virtus, quod in infantia.
Innocenti. Gloria. Innocenti.

Hymnus. Puer sanctus veneratur | cœlorum obsequiis ;
Frater fratris vitæ datur | tactu quoque meritis ;
Rogi flamma mitigatur, | cedens membris teneris.
Aqua fluens sanctitati | miro cedit ordine ;

Mortui resuscitati | sunt in Christi nomine ;
 Et leprosi sunt mundati | semel loti flumine.
 Sancto semel, ut scripturæ | finem daret citius,
 Oris flatu miro jure | lumen dedit digitus,
 Donec illa lucis puræ | vi scripsisset plenius.
 Sibi fratres inuidebant, | et propter miracula,
 Atque sibi faciebant | diræ mortis pocula ;
 Sed venena fugiebant | per crucis signacula.
 Laus et virtus Trinitati | sit et benedictio,
 Laus et honor Unitati | sitque jubilatio,
 Patris, flaminis atque nati | compar sit laudatio. *Amen.*

Vers. Amavit eum Dominus, etc. *Resp.* Stola gloriæ, etc.

Ant. Dum nutricis latescet ubera,
 Puer sanctus, cohors angelica
 Supra lectum ludens in æra
 Novo nova da[ba]t gaudia,
 Quibus visis rex pater intima
 Mente laudat Dei magnalia.

Ps. Magnificat.

Oratio. Deus qui beatum Mauricium confessorem tuum, atque pontificem ecclesiæ tuæ voluisti præesse pastorem, tribue quæsumus, ut qui ejus natalitia colimus, spe futuri gaudii non fraudemur, per Dom.

Deinde fiat mentio solemniter de sancto Martino cum hac Antiphona.

O beatum virum cujus anima paradisum possidet, unde exultant angeli, letantur archangeli, chorus sanctorum proclamat, turba virginum invitat: mane nobiscum in æternum.

Vers. Justus germana[bit], etc.

Oratio ut supra, nisi in ecclesia cathedrali Aberdonensi, in qua cum sit festum principale nulla fiet memoria.

II. Ad Matutinum.

Invitatorium. Honor Christo sit et imperium,
 Qui ad coelum vexit superum.

Ps. Venite (xciv.).

In I. Nocturno.

Ant. Natus regis pueri frater morti datur,
 Sed tactu Mauricii mox resuscitatur.

Ps. Beatus vir (i.).

Ant. Sicut Moysi fuerat rubus incombustus,
 Puer rogo vagiens remansit inustus.

Ps. Quare fremuerunt (ii.).

Ant. Sub aqua tenerrimus innocens profunda
 Jacuit, sed puer non submersit unda.

Ps. Domine quid (iii.).

Vers. Amavit eum Dominus.

Resp. Stola.

Lectio I. Sacram solemnitatem recolendissimi et sancti patris nostri Mauricii, dignis cum laudibus celebraturi, de ipsius nonnullis vitæ gestis et miraculorum insigniis pie meditando enarrare convenit. Nam sicuti ejus vera narrat historia, ex Syacano patre, Hibernensium regulo, et Synchena matre ejusdem regina beatum Mauricium genitum fuisse comperimus, et a sanctissimo patre Colmano baptizatum, cui nomen imposuit Mocummam. Hunc equidem suorum parentum cura et diligentia non minima educatum et nutritum invenimus.

Resp. Adolescens superno placuit,
Et se cunctis pium exhibuit,
Unde coelum ingredi meruit.

Vers. Vitæ verbum multis aperuit,
Atque vita beati claruit :
Unde, etc.

Lectio II. Equidem in eo de die in diem crescebat virtus Dei et gratia, et sæpius confortabatur visitatione angelica. Nam quodam tempore dum pater ejus, rex præfatus, cum suis ministris deambulet juxta domum in qua puer sanctus nutriebatur, desursum respiciens diligenter, vidit angelos Dei de coelo discendentes, et super lectam illius domus volitantes, nonnunquam vero domum intrabant et circa cunabulum pueri psallentes deambulabant : quos videns pater ingenti gaudio sustulit infantem de cunis et benedixit Deum qui talem sibi mundo prodaxerat prolem.

Resp. Domat carnis motus illicitos,
Vincit mundi conatus noxios,
Terit hostis antiqui tribulos.

Vers. Manus, mentem, cordis et oculos
Pie tendens semper ad superos,
Terit, etc.

Lectio III. Per quod vero tempus accidit ut regina præfata interea peperat viro suo alterum filium, qui in ortu ejusdem morte præventus fuerat ; de cujus morte cum ejus tota familia plurimum contristabantur, in dolore ac tristitia non minimis efficiebantur. Sed rex in se reversus sanctitatem filii sui primogeniti Mocummæ commemorans, jussit infantem mortuum sub pallio ejusdem filii sui supponi. Quo posito mox mirum in modum quamprimum ut caro mortui carnem tetigisset viventis paululumque califata cepit se movere et querulosas infantium more animatus emittebat voces.

Resp. O res mira sceptrum despicitur
Atque mundi decus contemnitur,
Et paupertas gratis eligitur.

Vers. Et tota mente Christus diligitur
Ac pro Christo corpus affligitur,
Et pau. Gloria.

In II. Nocturno.

Ant. Aper serus feriens fruges fausto dente,
Vertitur in lapidem, hoc sancto jubente.

Ps. Cum invocarem (iv.).

Ant. Precibus Mauricii latex obedivit,
Et de montis vertice saliens exivit.

Ps. Verba mea (v.).

Ant. Nil dedit superbis, sed in caritate,
Et in vera vixerat semper sanctitate.

Ps. Domine, Deus noster (vii.).

Vers. Justum deduxit, etc.

Lectio IV. His et aliis in suæ ætatis ordine gestis, beatus puer beati Columbæ magisterio et curæ delegatus ejus vitæ et actuum imitator esse satagit devotus : illius autem patris beatissimi Columbæ lateribus jungebatur, sedule ad illius genua assidebat. Assidueque ex illius ore, quotidie hauriens fluentia doctrinæ : quicquid autem illius auribus doctrinæ vel scientiæ foris infundebatur, et in cordis amariolo recondebatur et cum virtutum incremento servabatur. Ac inter discipulos suos ita modeste se habebat ut superiores industria et minores humilitate superaret.

Resp. Patroni fama clarissima
Procul volat atque catholica
Plebs currit visura miracula.
Sancta lætetur mater ecclesia
De tanti patris clementia.

Vers. Qui nobis dux sit et lucerna,
Nos pie ducens ad gaudia sempiterna.
Sancta lætetur, etc.

Lectio V. Interea per idem tempus dum sanctus Columba beatum Mauricium ad insulam nomine Mulam fidem Dei prædicandum misisset : occurrerunt ei obviam septem leprosi orantes et ejus benedictionem implorantes ; cumque acriter beatum rogarent virum, dixit illis : Ite in fontem proximum et lavamini. Qui abeuntes lavaverunt se, juxta verbum sancti viri, et statim lepra decessit ab eis ; et revertentes laudaverunt et glorificaverunt Dominum in sanctis suis.

Resp. Livor latens crescit in odium
Zelant fratres fratris excidium
Per Columbæ sancti consilium
Gratis sumpsit sanctus exilium.

Vers. Ratem, remos et remigantium
Sumptus quærit, mora fit tædium
Per Columbæ, etc., Tu.

Lectio VI. Alio namque in tempore cum beatus Mauricius quendam agrum suum pertransiret comitantibus eum pluribus viris et mulieribus, vidit eminus aprum ferocem venientem segetes suos suffodientem et ejus conculcantem pedibus, damnum non modicum populo, terræ et frugibus inferentem. At ipse Mauricius elevatis in cælum manibus, dixit : Ne tradas, Domine, bestiis animas confitentes tibi ; addiditque : Et tu cruenta bestia, immobilis sta in Christi nomine donec te tetigero. Stetit ergo immobilis, baculoque beati viri percussus illico vertitur in lapidem : qui in hujus miraculi memoria permanet in præsens.

Resp. Campus coli cultro præcipitur
 Arena per sulcos seritur :
 Crescit bladum, messis colligitur
 Hoc in fide Christi perficitur.

Vers. Adjuvari natura nititur,
 Quod in granum arena vertitur.
 Hoc, etc. Gloria.

In III. Nocturno.

Ant. Ut Paulus in pelago naufragus jacebat,
 Sub unda sic innocens vivus remanebat

Ps. Domine quis (xiv.).

Ant. Genus, gentem, patriam fugit, et honores,
 Ut salutis quæreret fruges meliores.

Ps. Domine in virtute (xx.).

Ant. Sanctum virum gignit Ibernica | educavit illum Albania,
 Cujus corpus in reverentia | Turonensis tenet ecclesia :
 Cujus preces et patrocinia | nos perducant ad cœli gaudia.

Ps. Domini est terra (xxiv.).

Vers. Justus ut palma florebit, etc.

Secundum Mattheum XXV. cplô : In illo tempore homo quidam peregre proficiscens vocavit servos suos et tradidit illis bona sua, etc.

Homilia Haymonis Epi. Lectio VII. Notandum autem quod et is qui de quinque talentis decem, et is qui de duobus quatuor reportavit, æquali voce collaudantur, cum utrique a domino dicatur : Euge serve bone et fidelis—quod est, bene gaude. Et qualiter servus cum domino gaudeat, declaratur cum subinfertur : Quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituam, cui recte subjungitur : Intra in gaudium domini tui : quia cum tantis et pro tantis, mercedem accipiet quantos bene vivendo et bene docendo lucratus est. Tu.

Resp. Vitæ sanctæ facto curriculo,
 Sanctum corpus datur sarcophago,
 In Martini sancti cœnobio.

Vers. Turonensis ipsum continuo
 Veneratur semper obsequio.
 In Martini etc.

Lectio VIII. In quibus verbis intelligimus quod illi majorem mercedem sunt a Domino in æterna vita recepturi qui bene vivendo ad aliorum eruditionem vel doctrinam spiritualiter invigilant. Quod alibi dominus apertius declarat, cum dicentibus Apostolis, Domine, ad nos dicis hanc parabolam an non ? Et ad omnes respondit : Quis putas est fidelis servus et prudens ? Quem constituit dominus super familiam suam ut det illis cibum in tempore. Beatus ille servus quem, cum venerit dominus ejus, invenerit sic facientem. Amen, Amen, dico vobis quoniam super omnia bona sua constituet eum. Tu.

Resp. Ejus tumbam frequentant languidi,
 Ubi tactu sancti sarcophagi,
 Sanitati sunt sæpe redditi.

Vers. Cæci, claudi, morbosi cæteri,
Illum prece poscentes humili,
Sanitati, etc.

Lectio IX. Cum enim super omnia bona constituitur, duplicem mercedem accipiet. Non solum qui sancte vixit, sed etiam quia digne docuit. Unde Daniel cum de resurrectione mortuorum loqueretur, ut ostenderet magistros spirituales super omnia bona constituendos, ait: Qui autem docti fuerunt fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti, et qui ad justitiam erudiunt multos quasi stellæ in perpetuas æternitates. Quam desiderabilem vocem et ineffabile gaudium audire desiderans beatissimus pater noster Mauricius cujus hodie festivitatem celebremus, talentum sibi creditum bene docendo et bene vivendo studuit erogare, ut geminatum illud domino reportaret, non tantum monendo pios sed etiam comprimendo reprobos. Et ideo quia juxta scripturæ vocem gaudium patris est filius sapiens tanta ejus excrescunt merita gaudiorum, quanta incrementa proficiunt spiritualium filiorum. Unde necesse est ut unusquisque nostrum, fratres carissimi, hujus beatissimi patris nostri vestigia sequentes, talentum quod a domino accipiemus non in terra abcondamus: sed cum magno desiderio erogare studeamus ut geminatum ad dominum referamus. Tu.

Resp. Pie præsul pravos purifica,
Purga mentes pelle piacula,
Atque corda tuorum visita,
Et ad laudes excelsi subleva.

Vers. Pia prece pro nobis impetra
Post decessum coeli solacia.
Atque, etc. Gloria Patri.
Te Deum.

Vers. Ora pro nobis, etc.

Resp. Ut digni, etc.

III. In Laudibus.

Ant. Nullum dedit otio tempus; vel orabat
Semper, vel colloquiis divinis vacabat.

Ps. Dominus regnavit (xcvi.).

Ant. Fixo piscis gutture Dron osse vexatur,
Sed ad sancti subito preces liberatur.

Ps. Jubilate (xcix.).

Ant. Ubi flumen præsulis instar intrat mare:
Baculi Mauricius cœpit habitare.

Ps. Deus, Deus (lxii. lxvi.).

Ant. Romam petit pontifex, ubi consecratus:
Est itaque Mauricius a papa vocatus.

Ps. Benedicite (Cant.):

Ant. Semper Evangelii verba reducebat:
Ad mentem sed sæpius illa proferebat.

Ps. Laudate (cxlviii. cxlix. cl.).

Cp̃lm. Ecce sacerdos.

Hymnus.

O cœli sidus lucide,
Mauricii sanctissime,
Tus confer ecclesiæ
Divina dona gratiæ :
Ut Deo grates referat,
Tibique laudes conferat
Supremo precis porrigat
Ut nos in pace protegat.
Tu solamen morientium,
Tu consolator flentium,
Fove vota precantium
Pestemque pelle mentium :
Tu preces nostras suscipe,
Et nos, pater piissime,
A trina morte protege,
Mundi, carnis, et Sathanæ.
Prestet hoc nobis cœlitus
Pater, concedat filius,
Et annuat paraclitus,
Trinus, et unus Dominus. Amen.

Vers. Justus germinabit.

Ant. Nos a cunctis iniquitatibus
Semper servet sanctus Mauricius.
Atque purget, suisque precibus
Nos conjungat supernis civibus.

Ps. Benedictus.

Oratio ut supra ad Vesperas Memoria de Sancto Martino.

IV. Ad Primam.

Ant. Nullum dedit.

Ps. Quicumque.

Ant. Gratias.

V. Ad III.

Ant. Fixo piscis.

Cp̃lm. Ecce sacerdos, etc.

VI. Ad VI.

Ant. Ubi flumen.

Cap. Benedictionem.

VII. Ad Nonam.

Ant. Semper evangeli.

Cap. Cognovit, etc.

Sed cum responsoriis de Communi unius confessoris et pontificis.

VIII. Ad Secundas Vesperas.

Ant. Nullum dedit.

Cap. Ecce sacerdos.

Resp. Pie præsul (*Lectio IX*).

Hymnus. O celi sidus.

Vers. Justus germinabit.

Ant. Jesu Christi confessor humilis

Pie nobis succurrens miseris

Fac excelsis in tuis meritis

Simus tuti, expulsis vitiis

In adventu futuri judicis.

Ps. Magnificat.

Oratio ut supra.





Adamian De lais sanctis p. XXV

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